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# JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

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## Romesh Chunder Dutt

BY

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Romesh Chunder Dutt was born in 1848 in the well-known Dutt family (of Rambagan in North Calcutta) which may be regarded as a typical representative of the intellectual elite of the city brought into being by the introduction of English education. He had good academic career and passed both Matriculation and F. A. with great distinction, having secured second place in the latter and received scholarship in both. While he was a student of the Fourth Year Class in the Presidency College, Calcutta, he gave the first evidence of his strong character and personality when, in the early hours of 3 March, 1868, he stealthily left his house and boarded the vessel for London with a grim determination to sit for the Indian Civil Service Examination. It was a very stiff examination, and only one Indian had so far been successful in this competitive Test. But nothing daunted, he along with his two friends, Surendra Nath Banerji and Bihari Lal Gupta, boldly plunged into this venture. All the three came out successful in the competitive test in 1869. There were more than 320 English candidates, but Romesh Dutt stood second in English obtaining 420 marks out of 500, and also occupied the second place in the final list of successful candidates.

After three years' stay in England, during which Romesh Chunder was called to the Bar and travelled extensively in Europe, he returned to India, and his life as a member of the I. C. S. began on 28th September, 1871, as Assistant Magistrate of Alipur. The official records of his subsequent career as Joint Magistrate, Magistrate, and Commissioner leave no doubt about his administrative ability which won due recognition from his British masters. It is not possible to give here a detailed account of his career but only a few points may be noted.

Even amidst arduous duties at the beginning of his official life, he found time to write "The Peasantry of Bengal" which was published in 1875 when agrarian disturbances in some parts of Bengal drew public attention to this problem. The keynote of the whole



book is whole-hearted sympathy with the long-suffering *rai-yats* in Bengal. The views he expressed irritated the Zamindars, and Krishtodas Pal, in a scathing criticism of the book in the "Hindu Patriot", dubbed him as a radicalist and revolutionary. There was a lurking fear even in the mind of Mr. Dutt that such public expression of his views might lead to his getting into the bad books of the Government. His reaction to a widely spread rumour to this effect was expressed in a letter to his brother. The following passage in it may be quoted to show the spirit of the young civilian.

"Civilians are not allowed to speak aloud on the subject of politics ..... I think to pass judgments on the policy of the English legislators is considered too bold a step; and to advocate the cause of the *rai-yats* against the Zamindars may be viewed in a still worse light. Yet I cannot and I will not put fetters on my tongue, promotion in the service I do not much care for, and I will not be sorry if the publications of the B. P. injures my prospects somewhat".

The Government however, gave due importance to the book and ordered careful inquiries into the matter. It may not be too much to suppose that Mr. Dutt's book had some influence on the subsequent tenancy legislation in Bengal.

Mr. Dutt was the first Indian to serve as a District Magistrate for a long period. But "the doubtful experiment" in the stormy district of Backergunge proved a great success, and to mark it officially the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, granted him an interview. Mr. Dutt was also the first Indian to be appointed Commissioner of a Division. It created a great deal of excitement in the Anglo Indian circle and it is said that the question of his appointment went up as far as the India Office.

In view of all these unerring testimonies of appreciation and high regard of the Government, it is somewhat curious that Mr. Dutt resigned this "heaven-born" service in 1897, nine years before he was due to retire. Naturally there was a whisper in the public that he must have retired under some feeling of dissatisfaction at some unfair treatment. His biographer, Mr. Natesan, on the authority of Mr. Dutt himself, categorically declared that these rumours "were absolutely without any foundation". According to Mr. Natesan, the true reasons for his early retirement were two. "In



the first place, he wished to devote himself whole-heartedly to literary pursuits which he always called his 'first love'. In the second place, he wished for greater independence and larger opportunities of striving for that progress in self-government, and those liberal reforms for which the time was ripe. His long experience in administration had convinced him that British Rule in India could be more efficient and more popular by the admission of the people to a share in the control and direction of the administration. And he felt an irresistible impulse to take a part in national endeavour to secure this share for his countrymen."

Mr. J. N. Gupta, I. C. S., the other biographer of Mr. Dutt and his son-in-law, also vouches for the truth of the above remarks of Natesan, and adds a third reason, namely, Mr. Dutt's failing health.

But whatever may be the true cause or causes, Mr. Dutt retired in 1897 as soon as he completed the period of service which entitled him to a pension. His decision was regretted not only by Indians but also by high British Officials. Sir Henry Cotton wrote to him on hearing the rumour: "I honestly hope you will not think of retiring". Sir Charles Bernard of the India Office wrote: "If you are well, your voluntary retirement will be a great loss to Bengal in my judgment."

But the retirement of Mr. Dutt meant no rest. He settled in London to carry on his literary activities and create public opinion in England in favour of granting political reforms on the lines laid down by the Indian National Congress. The London University College created a Chair in Indian History and appointed him for that Chair. During 1898-9 he delivered lectures on the history, civilization, religion and literature of the ancient Hindus. He was also elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1899. In 1904 he accepted the long standing offer of the great liberal ruler of Baroda, Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, and became the Revenue Minister of the State. His services were highly appreciated by the Gaekwad. In 1907 Mr. Dutt was appointed member of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation and the conspicuous services he rendered in that capacity were duly acknowledged even by the Secretary of State, Lord Morley. On his return to India in March, 1909, the Gaekwad appointed him Dewan, the highest and most responsible post in the State, but he did not occupy it for more than six months, and passed away on 30 November, 1909.



In conclusion we must refer to his literary activities assiduously carried on throughout his life, amid his arduous and strenuous official duties. The Dutt family, to which he belonged, has long been known for literary activities in English. His two uncles, Shoshee Chunder and Govin Chunder, published English verses and essays which were praised by English critics and were favourably reviewed in the Blackwood's Magazine. Govin Chunder's daughter, Toru Dutt, has won undying fame for her English verses. No wonder, therefore, that Romesh Chunder would also make his literary debut in English. But on the advice and under the inspiration of the great Bengali *litterateur* Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Romesh Chunder began to write in Bengali. His literary output in these languages is both varied and rich in character.

In 1872 appeared his first English book, "Three Years in Europe", followed three years later by "The Peasantry of Bengal", mentioned above. Then came "Literature of Bengal" (1877), a short history of Bengali literature which, as a pioneering effort, has received due recognition. Then followed his monumental work, "History of Civilisation in Ancient India" in 3 volumes (1889-90). Though it claims no originality, it was the first and the best book written in English which gives a fair and comprehensive idea of ancient Indian culture on the basis of the momentous discoveries—both archaeological and literary—which were made up to that time. It long held the field as the pioneer work on the subject, and even now has not lost its value, though later researches have considerably added to, and altered, our views in many respects. The same thing may be said of his two other great works, 'Economic History of India under Early British Rule' (1757-1837) and "The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age" published, respectively, in 1902 and 1904. These rank with the books on the same subject by Dadabhai Naoroji and William Digby as the true picture of the economic condition of India under the British rule.

Among his other works, all in English verse, special mention may be made of "The Lays of Ancient India" (Selections from Indian Poetry rendered into English verse) and the Translations of the two great Epics, the 'Mahabharata' and the 'Ramayana', published, respectively, in 1894, 1899, and 1900.

His Bengali Books which are far better known to the Bengali public, include six novels. Four of these, "Bangavijeta", "Madhavi-



kankan", "Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat" and "Rajput Jivan-sandhya" are historical novels dealing with events comprising a century of Mughal rule from the reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb. The scene of the first two is laid in Bengal, while the other two, as their names indicate, refer to Maharashtra and Rajasthan. They were very popular in our younger days, and though overshadowed by the new style of novel-writing introduced, successively, by Rabindranath and Saratchandra, still possess considerable importance and value from literary point of view. But his *magnum opus* is the Bengali translation of the 'Rigveda' published during 1885-1887. Though based on the works of European scholars and the commentary of Sayanacharya, and having no claim to originality, it is a monument of his scholarship, patience, and industry, and occupies a unique place as the first translation of the oldest literary work of the Aryans in any modern Indian language. The nine volumes of "Hindusastra", consisting of the text and Bengali translations of the sacred works of the Hindus, compiled by him or under his guidance, are also a very notable contribution to Bengali literature. It is therefore in the fitness of things that he was elected the first President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Academy of Bengali Literature).

Leaving aside several other minor works both in English and Bengali the above list by itself is sufficient to make anybody famous even if he had done nothing else.







# The History and Social Organization of the Gauda Sāraswata Brāhmaṇas of the West Coast of India

BY

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I have attempted in this paper\* an introduction to the social and cultural history of the Gauda Sāraswata Brāhmaṇas of western India during the millennium and the half of its existence. In so doing, I have first dealt with their professed and in one instance debated early migration from north India. The regional distribution of these brahmanas and their language peculiarities are then discussed. The historical material concerning them from A. D. 500 to 1900, has been mentioned, together with the ethnographical notes on them found in various Bombay Presidency Gazetteers (1870-1890). At this juncture I have also indicated historical group rivalry between the Gauda Saraswata brahmanas (GSB) and other brahmana groups in the areas commonly occupied by them.

The sectarian affiliations of the GSB must be recognized as the vital part of their caste organization, hence the need to elucidate the history of their *maṭha* institutions, and the role the *swāmīs*, the *maṭha* heads, play in sustaining the institutions. The careers of the three GSB *swāmīs* bearing on the events of the late nineteenth century have been examined. The GSB caste organization has been outlined, and this is followed by the description of the GSB caste associations and other social and economic activities in Bombay from the eighteenth century onwards with due emphasis on the period 1850-1930.

The Gauda Sāraswata Brāhmaṇas in this paper represent the whole of the caste, irrespective of the internal differences. The internal divisions are mentioned with the names by which they are

\*This paper was presented at the conference on Patterns of Change in 19th century Maharashtra held at the University of Chicago, June 6-8, 1969.



generally known. The terms such as *Sheṇavis*, *Sāraswats*, *Koṅkaṇe* are commonly used to signify the same caste as the GSB. But I have used the term GSB in order to give the caste a unity for heuristic purpose.

*The GSB and their Northern Origin:*

The traditional scheme of classification for the Brahmanas of India, found in the sacred texts such as the Purāṇas, has been generally adopted by earlier writers on caste. According to this scheme, brahmanas have been broadly classified into ten regional divisions. The northern brahmana groups are (1) Sāraswata (2) Kānyakubja (3) Maithila (4) Gauḍa (5) Utkala, and these are designated *pañca Gauḍas*. The remaining five southern brahmana groups, which are called *pañca Draviḍas*, are (1) Gurjara (2) Mahārāṣṭra (3) Āṇdhra (4) Karnāṭaka (5) Draviḍa.

The GSB, who are also referred to as *sheṇavis*, according to Bhattacharya, are believed to be a branch of the Sāraswat brahmanas of Punjab.<sup>1</sup> They trace their descent to the sage Sāraswata who lived on the bank of the now extinct river Saraswati, situated somewhere in the Northern Rajputana. Tradition of the GSB says: There was once a twelve year famine. Many died from want of food and water. The sage Sāraswata, the son of Didhici, however, survived by eating each day a fish from the river Saraswati. By eating fish he managed to live and to spread the Vedic religion. The descendants and followers of Sāraswata are called Sāraswata after him. The myth cited above is often quoted by the GSB mainly to point out the antiquity of their origin. At other times this is done to justify their fish-eating habits before predominantly non-flesh-eating brahmanas of the area wherein they live.

There are even variations of the myth. Thus it is added to the original myth that the sage Sāraswata used to eat the middle portion of the fish, then joining the head and tail would give it life, thus creating a new fish, and put into water. This is to say that the sage by giving life back to the fish, did not really kill it and so when the GSB eat fish there is no actual killing involved. The other brahmanas of Maharashtra and Karnataka such as Chitpavans,

1. J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 89.



Deshasthas, Karhades, would point to the same original myth and argue that the sage Sāraswata committed *pātaka* by eating fish, hence his descendants, the GSB, are not true brahmanas but degraded ones.

The GSB in the 1881 census are described as "the curiously isolated Gaud Colony located along the West Coast."<sup>2</sup> They are generally assumed to have come in the remote past from their northern home to the south in the areas of the West Coast. In order to distinguish them from the Draviḍa group, the Sāraswats seem to have been called Gauḍa Sāraswat. In point of fact, the 18th century Maratha official documents list them as Sāraswat Gaud.<sup>3</sup>

The Sahyādrī Khaṇḍa of Skandha Purāṇa gives an often quoted story of migration of the GSB from Trihotrapura, the modern Tirhut in Western Bengal, to Goa. Paraśurāma, the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu, brought these brahmanas from Tirhut from amongst the *pañca gauḍas*, to help him perform *śrāddhas* and *yajñās*. These brahmanas belonged to ten gotras and had 66 kulas (extended families). Out of the ten gotras Paraśurāma established, *Kauḍiṇya* gotra, *Vatsa* gotra and *Kauśika* gotra, each with 10 kulas, in the villages of Kuśasthala and Kelosi. The brahmanas belonging to these 3 gotras are described as the leading brahmanas who are worthy of respect by kings, who are efficient in their jobs and are of good conduct. Maṭhagrāma, Vareṇya, Loṭali, Kuḍasthali, Cūḍamaṇi, Dīpāvati, and the village in the middle of Gomāñcala were made the headquarters of the remaining 7 gotras and 36 kulas. Paraśurāma thus established the 66 families from Trihotra.<sup>4</sup>

There is another migration described in the Mangish Mahātmya of the same Purāṇa. Devaśarma of Vatsagotra, Lomaśarmā of Kauḍiṇyagotra and Śivaśarmā of Kauśikagotra came from Kānyakubja on their way to Rameshwara pilgrimage and settled in the villages of Kusasthali and Kelosi. It seems Lomaśarmā was married to the sister of Devaśarmā, while Śivaśarma was Devaśarmā's sister's son.<sup>5</sup> It is important to note that the memory of the Śarmās,

2. Imperial Census of India, 1881, vol. 10, p. 128.

3. G. R. Sharma, *Saraswatha Bhuṣaṇa*, (SB) p. 528.

4. Skanda Purāṇa, *Sahyādrī Khaṇḍa*, *Uttara Rahasya*, *adhyāya* 5; see also *Gomāntakāca*, *Itihāsa*, pp. 59-65.

5. Ibid., *Mangish Mahātmya*, *adhyāya*, 5.



the supposed original GSB settlers of Goa, survives in their portrait figures which are placed before the images of the God Mangesh (Śiva) and the goddess Santā Durga which the Sarmās are said to have brought from Trihotra to Goā. These portrait figures are referred to as *muḷa puruṣas* (original settlers).

Both these traditions mentioned at different places in the same text have one striking common note. The best brahmanas among 10 gotras mentioned in the earlier passage are of Kauśika, Kauṇḍinya and Vatsa gotras. The Sarmās of the second tradition belong to the same gotras. The brahmanas of 3 gotras by some coincidence happened to stay at the same places, namely at Kelośi and Kuśasthali. Evidently, there is overlapping and borrowing of information. In the above case I am inclined to believe that Mangish Mahātmya which is some sort of an appendix to Sahyādri Khaṇḍa of Skandha Purāṇa borrowed the story from the earlier one and gave its own version. It seems probable that the episode of cross-cousin marriages of the Sarmās in the story appears to have been inserted there to sanction, through the purāṇic medium, a custom which is shunned in the North. Although this type of marriage is a preferred one among the GSB, Deshasthas and Karhades of Maharashtra, to do so is committing incest for the Northern *panca gaṇḍas*. Alternatively, it is possible from the fact that the marriage is mentioned so unobtrusively that the Purāṇa copywriter may have come from Maharashtra where such marriages are normal occurrences. The story of Kānyakubja brahmanas may well have been inserted by a person copying the Purāṇa who seems to have had an admiration for the Kānyakubja caste. It is also possible that at the time the Mangish Mahātmya was composed the Kānyakubja brahmanas were important groups in terms of their ritual standing all over Northern India. In this connection it might be worth noting that Kulina brahmanas of Bengal also claim a Kānyakubja descent.

The occurrence of the subjective elements in the Purāṇic accounts is not wanting. The subjective elements may often be found vitiated by caste prejudices and biases. Skandha Purāṇa does not seem to be immune from it. It is suggested that Sahyādri Khaṇḍa of that book was rewritten by a Deshastha brahmana of Maharashtra who apparently had a dislike for the Chitpavans and Karhade brahmanas of the same area. Chitpavans, who most probably derive their caste name from the place on the west coast,



Chiplon (ancient Chitpura), translate the term chitpavan as purifiers or curers of soul. Sahyādri Khaṇḍa however says that Paraśurāma created them out of a *cita* (funeral pyre) from corpses of shipwrecked foreigners. The Karhade brahmanas, in that same Khaṇḍa, are attributed as following the practice of offering human sacrifices and of even murdering brahmanas to propitiate their deities.<sup>6</sup>

Kosambi (GSB) feels that the tradition of the brahmanas (GSB) coming in the remote past from the North and settling in Goa, is authentic.<sup>7</sup> Moraes<sup>8</sup> however doubts this tradition and speaks of the 'myth of the Northern descent' and proposes that the local priests (non-aryan) just converted themselves into brahmanas, assuming a northern origin to cover up their usurpation. Kosambi with an elaborate argument in favour of a northern origin, refutes Moraes' suggestion: According to Kosambi, this assumption of brahmana status may have taken place in some localities, but it can hardly explain why a new land system (rice cultivation and equal distribution of profits shared between a fixed number of families arose. The local origin, Kosambi adds, is contradicted by a good deal of other evidence. "in the first place, local pre-brāhmaṇic priests of the *gāvdos* still survive in places like Kholgar in Goa; their deities where unabsorbed by brāhmaṇic synthesis have been transformed into cacodemons, known generally as *devachār*, but still worshipped by lower castes as well as by the *gāvādās*. With this well organized *gāvda* race or tribe was associated only a meagre agriculture, that of *nācaṇ* which needs nothing but a little clearing in the jungle, easily accomplished by fire. Far more important, the structure of the Konkani language, in spite of Portuguese influence of modern times (for nearly 400 years) and a goodly number of Arabic and Persian words, still remains quite distinct from that of Kanarese; and even of Marāṭhi, of which it is supposed so often to be a dialect. As a matter of fact, the descent from Sanskrit and Prakrit occurs in a line parallel to that of Marāṭhi. But it is still true as I can vouch from personal observations, that the language retains many idiomatic similarities to spoken Bengali and to the dialects of Bihar as well as eastern U. P. This could hardly have occurred

6. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* p. 84.

7. D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, p. 166

8. G. Moraes, 'Notes on the Pre-Kadamba history of Goa', *Transactions Vth Indian Historical Conference*, 1941, pp. 164-174.



without a significant migration from the Gangetic plain.”<sup>9</sup> It must be pointed out here that no modern linguist, structural or otherwise, has noted this ‘idiomatic similarity to spoken Bengali’ though the Konkani is often studied by them comparatively with Prakrit and Marathi. Kosambi’s claim therefore at the present stage of inquiry is not based on sound linguistic analysis and hence is highly speculative. The similarity with the Bengali language, however, has been noticed since 1870, and the search for similarities was extended to include eating habits of Bengalis and the GSB. The Bombay presidency Gazetteer written in the 1880’s had suggested that the GSB might have come originally from Bengal.<sup>10</sup> In Goa, according to this Gazetteer, which incidentally refers to Sir Ramkrishna G. Bhandarkar (a GSB himself) as a source of information, the GSB like Bengalis, ‘freely rub their heads with oil and also like them are fond of rice gruel and fish. The honorific Bāba, as in Purusottam Bāb, is perhaps a corruption of Babu in Bengal. Their broad pronunciation of vowel sounds is also like that of the Bengalis.’ However, this suggestion is doubted by another Bombay Presidency Gazetteer written a little later,<sup>11</sup> on the grounds that there is nothing unique about oiling the head, eating fish and rice gruel as these habits are shared by other inhabitants of the west coast of India. It seems, however, that in their search for identity, most of the GSB writers from the 1870’s onwards tend to associate themselves with the Bengali brahmanas. One may note that Bengal was the intellectual and administrative centre of British India, at least in 1870-1880, from whence came the ‘new’ ideas. The Bengali Brahmo Samaja had influenced the founding of the Prarthana Samaja in Bombay in the late 1860’s and since then significantly many GSB intellectuals such as Bhandarkar, Telang and Chandavarkar were active members of the Samaja.

The claim of the GSB, whether real or imagined, of a north Indian origin is not an obscure historical problem; it is a relevant problem which has been of constant interest to the GSB. Many GSB leaders in the 1870’s and 1880’s have referred to this northern origin to indicate

9. Kosambi, *qp. cit.*

10. *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer (BPQ)*, vol. x, ; see also L. K. Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, II. p. 346

11. *BPQ*. XV. p. 139



the solidarity of the GSB in contrast with other brahmana groups of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala. In the late 19th century the GSB spokesmen wrote books and articles, gave public speeches, cited documentary evidence in the Native Indian as well as English court of law to prove that they belonged to the Northern stock of brahmanas. In this, their claim was in line with their efforts to be recognized as brahmanas, a right which was challenged by the Chitpavans, Deshasthas and Karadhes, among others.

*Regional Distribution of the GSB.*

The GSB are mainly found in Konkana, North and South Kanara and certain parts of Cochin, Travancore and Mysore (former princely states). Goa was the original centre of the GSB from whence they dispersed along the coast to the north up to Bombay and south to Malabar. For centuries, this coastal area was exposed to contacts from outside India. Sopara in Bombay, Bhatkala, Karwar, Calicut, Cochin used to have active trade relationships with the Roman empire. Regular trade routes were established by Arabs, Syrians and Turks, and from the 16th century onwards, by the Portuguese, Dutch and English. From the coastal areas during several centuries, the GSB emigrated to the hinterland areas such as Poona, Satara, Nasik, Kolhapura. We also find the GSB families in Baroda, Indore, Nagapura, Harda, Dhara, Gwalior.

*Konkana:* The low lying tract below the ghats of Western India termed Konkana contains the former districts of Tana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri, Bombay City and island, the upper portion of North Kanara below the ghats (the area north of Gangavali river in the District of Karwar), the former Indian States of Jawhar, Janjira, Savantwadi, and the territory of Goa. Incidentally, this area corresponds roughly to the area described in the Sahyādri Khandā of the Skandha Purāṇa as the Paraśurāma Kṣetra, being the land acquired by the brahmana warrior Paraśurāma, driving the sea back. It is difficult country to travel in, for in addition to rivers, creeks and harbours, there are many isolated peaks and detached ranges of hills. The agriculture consists of a few rich plots of rice land and groves of coconut palms watered by the South East Monsoon.

*North and South Kanara, Malabar:* Some of the major places in the district of North Kanara are Karwar, Haliyal, Yellapura, Kumatha, Honnavara and Bhatkal. North Kanara is noted for its lush



evergreen jungles and rich fertile valleys, where one finds plantations of arecanut, coconuts and spices. South Kanara and Malabar have been considered the wealthiest parts of the former Madras presidency, 'where with an abundant rainfall nature produces from the soil sufficient wealth to support a teeming population with hardly any exertion on their part'.<sup>12</sup>

Table 1 clearly indicates that on the coastal as opposed to the hinterland areas the GSB are a sizeable brahmana community when compared with the other brahmana groups. They are a majority amongst the local brahmana groups of Savantwadi. Careful field-work, with the aid of the available census reports of Goa, would indicate that the GSB are in the majority among the brahmanas of Goa and the immediately adjacent parts of Goa, such as upper North Kanara and the areas situated north of Goa. But as we go northwards and southwards, the number decreases gradually. But in Bombay, again, the GSB form the majority among the brahmana population.

We have furthermore to concentrate on the local dominance of the GSB caste within a given district. For instance, although in North Kanara District, the Havigs are the majority among the brahmanas, in Ankola, Supa and Karwar areas of the district we find the GSB numerically larger than the Havigs. As we go into the interior, away from the coastal region of the North Kanara district in places such as Yallapur, Gokarna and Gersappa, we find a concentration of Havigs.

This is not all. One may also examine the population breakdown of the GSB subgroups (endogamous) within a district. The North Kanara Bombay Presidency Gazetteer, quoting the 1881 census, gives the following figures: Sastikars (Vaisnavas) 8858, Sheṇavis 8799, Kushasthalis (Chitrapura Saraswatas) 1131, Bardeshkars 657, and Pednekars 102.<sup>13</sup> A further breakdown of the population there would indicate that Supa and Karwar division of the district contain more Sheṇavis vis-à-vis other GSB groups; Kumatha and Honnavara have more Sastikars as compared with Sheṇavis. I have pointed out

12. *Census of India 1921*, vol XIII, pt. 1, p. 9.

13. BPG. XV, p. 139



Table 1.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY CENSUS: SELECTED AREAS 1911.

BRAHMANA GROUPS: GSB, CHITPAVANS, DESHASTHAS, HAVIGS.

Bombay City	GSB.	Chit.	Desh.	Hav.
	9,691	8,104	4,876	—
	<u>11,593</u>	<u>10,511</u>	6,374	—
	(1922 Census)	(1922 Census)	(1922 Census)	
Kanara	24,479	489	2,035	39,373
Savantwadi	9,638	1,654	—	—
Ratnagiri	14,959	30,081	1,987	
Kolaba	935	1,108	3,652	
Thana	2,632	5,284	5,958	
Belgam	3,689	1,439	23,669	
Dharwad	1,571	1,722	18,516	
Kolhapur	2,661	3,949	16,624	
Poona	491	15,242	32,993	
Satara	491	5,656	27,319	
Nasik	341	3,810	18,659	



elsewhere that it is in North Kanara that we find an intense rivalry between Vaisnava and Shaivite sects of the GSB.

A really detailed study of the GSB will involve the examination of GSB exogamous groups within a single *jñāti*, especially in areas where they are a locally 'dominant' group (landlords and property holders). In Karwar, for example, we find villages such as Bada, Hanakona and Majali, situated within a radius of seven miles, each dominated by a Bardes family (pseudonym). Bardes will have a common gotra, Kauḍiṇya, and will not marry one another: the marriages are mostly arranged with families from nearby villages having gotras such as Vatsa, Kauśika. When a Barde is mentioned, as coming from Karwar—there are Bardes from Bombay and from Goa—to a man who in turn is a Karwarkar (*kar*: from, belonging to), he would be interested to know if the Bardes is Majalkar, Badkar or Hanakonkar. It is the 'brotherhood' of Bardes in particular villages that is the focal point. Bardes in each of the above villages will have descended from a common male ancestor; they are all *sagos* (from the term *sagotra*). These village brotherhood-solidarity ties are traceable in the urban settings. In Bombay, for example, on ceremonial occasions such as *śrāddha* (feast given in honour of the dead), the Ganapati festival, and, more importantly, marriages, the 'brotherhood' of Bardes will make it a point to attend, sometimes accompanied by their affines.

#### *Konkani and the GSB:*

Goa is the home of the GSB and their language, which is also spoken by other people in the area, is Konkani. Father Stephens who wrote a grammar of Konkani in 1614, spoke of the language as a *brāhmaṇācī bhāṣā* (language of the brahmanas). There has been much controversy concerning the recognition of Konkani either as a language or a dialect of Marathi. Grierson,<sup>14</sup> in his linguistic survey, considers Konkani as a dialect of Marathi, while Konkan, Dekkan and Berar (other Marathi forms) are treated as mere varieties of Marathi. Saldanha suggests<sup>15</sup> that Konkani was the peculiar heritage of the GSB, 'formed by the importation of a northern

14. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. I, pt. 1, pp 144-145.

15. Saldanha, 'Kanarin Konkani Caste and Communities in Bombay', *Journal of Anthropological Society*, vol. 10, pp. 508 ff.



Prakrit variety and the super-imposition of a Konkani Marathi variety'. Priolkar shows that the literary Konkani is nearer the Kristapurāṇ (1614),<sup>16</sup> a Marathi version of the Bible written in the 17th century. While Katre,<sup>17</sup> from the modern linguist's standpoint, regards it as a separate language. According to Katre, there seems to be very little structured variation in Konkani used in different parts and spoken with a different accent. The GSB living in Bombay, whose mother tongue is Konkani, can understand with some effort a Konkani spoken by the GSB from Manglur in South Kanara. The degree of intelligibility of Konkani naturally depends on the nearness of two regions. For example, a GSB, originally from North Kanara and settled in Bombay, would understand a Bombay GSB from South Kanara much better than a Ratnagiri GSB of Bombay. However, Konkani is at best a mother tongue amongst the GSB, but nowhere does it have the status of an official language.

The GSB writers of the 1870's and 1880's, such as Kanwinde and Gunjekar, took great pains in their writings to indicate the solidarity of the GSB of the west coast by stressing their 'Konkani' heritage. In other words, the GSB writers liked to cherish Konkani as a unique GSB heritage, giving them a sense of distinct identity vis-à-vis the 'Marathi' speaking Chitpavan and Deshastha brahmana of Maharashtra. Gunjekar, a grammarian, was especially forceful in pointing out that Konkani and Marathi had parallel but simultaneous developments, both deriving their origin from Prakrit.

*The GSB: 400—1400 A. D.*

The Purāṇic account of Paraśurāma and his bringing over the GSB from the Northern Trihotrapura to Goa is not datable as it falls in the realm of myth and folk tradition. I am inclined to agree more or less with Kosambi's suggestion that the actual settlement of the GSB may have taken place anytime between the 4th century A. D., the date usually ascribed to Mayura Varman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, and the 9th century A. D.<sup>18</sup>

The existence of the brahmanas in Goa from 600 A. D. cannot be doubted. We find a number of copperplate land grants from

16. A. K. Priolkar, *Printing Press in India*, pp. 152-53.

17. S. M. Katre.

18. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 158.



that date given as gifts to the brahmanas in Goa and adjacent areas which are generally occupied by the GSB, where they form the majority among the brahmanas. I give below four instances of inscriptional evidence which indicate the presence of the brahmanas from the 7th to the 14th century A. D. In a land grant dated 610 A. D. found in Goa, we notice a feudatory of the Cālukya Kings giving the village of Kārallikā to one Sivarāya of the Cārgya family.<sup>19</sup> In another instance, in a Nerur copperplate in Savantwadi near Goa, in 653 A. D. the queen Vijaya Bhaṭṭārikā, wife of Candraditya, gives a grant of rice field in the village of Narakāgāhar to a brahmana Āryaswāmi Dikṣita.<sup>20</sup> The same queen gives a field known as Vakulakacchakṣetra at the village of Koccaruka (the village of that name, Kocre, still exists in Goa) to a brahmana of the Vatsagotra.<sup>21</sup> A Goa copperplate of 1250 A. D. records the grant of a rice field in the village of Salibhatta made by the Kadamba king Sasthadeva II to his rājaguru.<sup>22</sup> A Yādava copperplate, in old Marathi, of 1348 A. D. found in Varem, Goa, refers to an agreement made by the merchants (vāniās) of the two leading towns of Goa, Varem and Narve, to establish an endowment of gifts for the brahmanas. The agrahāras of Khāṭegrāma and Kapil are mentioned in this inscription.<sup>23</sup>

Prior to the 14th century, there are many such instances of grants (which could be cited without much profit) made by the rulers of the west coast regions, such as Silhāras of South Konkana, Kadambas of Goa and Yādvas. Usually, the grants, following the practice of those days, mention gotra and personal names of the brahmanas, often with an honorific suffix such as *Bhaṭṭa*, *Dikṣita* and *Swāmi*. We cannot, therefore, positively identify the recipients of the grants as belonging to the GSB. However, one can reasonably assume that many of these brahmanas must have belonged to the GSB. The presence of the land grants in Goa, incidentally, indicates the economic power the brahmanas must have derived from such a grant.

19. Goa copper plates, śake 532, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 10, p. 365.

20. Nerur copper plates, śake 581, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 7 p. 163.

21. Kocare plate, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 8, p. 45.

22. Goa copper plate, Kaliyuga 4348 (śake 1172), *Indian Antiquary* vol. 14, p. 289.

23. Varem copper plates, A. D. 1348, see D. V. Apte, *Bharatha Itihasa Samsodhaka mandala*, 1915.



*The GSB: 1400-1600 A.D.*

A stone inscription,<sup>24</sup> found in Bandoda, Goa, mentions the endowment given by Mai Sheṇavi in the reign of Vijayanagara Mahārāja Devarāya, in trust to Gopala Bhaṭṭa and Keshava Bhaṭṭa, before the witnesses of Bāṇḍavāda (Bandodā) village, Rām Nāyaku (Naik), Nagana Nayaku, Rām Prabhu and Mange Prabhu. The endowment was for the daily maintenance of the temple of Naganāth (Nagesh) for such things as daily worship, *Prasāda* and lighting of the lamp on behalf of the donor. One Lakhama Sheṇavai and his son Viṭṭhala is also mentioned in this stone inscription of 1413 A.D., written in old Marathi. The donors of the above inscription, undoubtedly, were GSB and also, possibly, the priests (bhaṭṭas) employed by them. In the above passage, incidentally, we find one of the earliest uses of the term Sheṇavi in an inscription, a term which is a common honorific used exclusively for the GSB on the west coast through the centuries.

An interesting historical document of 1801, *Gomāntakāci Bakhara*,<sup>25</sup> written in Marathi, narrates the history of Goa and India from the early times till the date it was written. I mention below only those details which pertain to the GSB in Goa:

In 1402 A. D. the Vijayanagara king sent the minister Mādhava Cāmuṇḍi with an army to defeat the Muslim army which was harrassing Goa. Mādhava accomplished his mission with great success. In the same year he celebrated this victory by distributing to the brahmanas many villages in Konkana as agrahāra gifts. In 1415, as Mādhava had to return to Vijayanagara, he put one Wagle (GSB) in charge of the administration of Konkana. Wagle was from the village of Bandoda. Wagle instituted an endowment for the maintenance of the God Nagesh. His descendants still claim certain rights of precedence in the worship of Nagesh in the village of Bandoda.

The Bakhara then informs us about Desais, tax collectors (feudal officers) who were selected by the Muslims who had taken over the region by 1475. The Bakhara continues:

24. Bandora stone inscription, A. D. 1413, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXIII, p. 107.

25. 'Gomāntakāci Bakhara' SB, pp. 495-496.



Goa fell to Albuquerque on the 25th February 1510. Albuquerque was supported by one Mhāḷa Pai, (GSB), a feudal chief of Adilshah, and one Timappa (navy commander of Vijayanagara). Mhāḷa Pai had jurisdiction over Sāṣasti and Bārdesh. These areas came to be occupied by the Portuguese when Pai left for Cochin on account of some trouble with his rayats (tenants).

Mhāḷa Pai's son Viṭha Pai went back to Adilshah of Bijapur, who took him in his service (and installed him in his fathers' position). But Viṭha Pai could not reclaim Sāṣastri and Bārdesh (belonging to his father) as these (provinces) were in the hands of the Portuguese.

Judging from the records of Kāśi Māṭha, one of the important Maṭha centres of the GSB in Cochin, we ascertain that the GSB were already an established community in Kerala by the mid-fifteenth century. We find a copperplate of gift,<sup>26</sup> now in the possession of the Kāśi Māṭha swami of the GSB, given by the ruler of Cochin to Yadavedra Tirtha, the present swami's lineal predecessor in the year 1481. The GSB in that copperplate are referred to as *konkaṇashta* (belonging to konkana). The GSB's prerogative as brahmanas to practise the *mantras* and wear brahmanic marks are, incidentally, mentioned in that copperplate. We have stated elsewhere in this paper that the first GSB swami in the south, Nārāyaṇa Tirtha, was installed as a *guru* in the year 1456.

That the GSB were in the south in Kerala in the 15th century is also confirmed by Barbosa, a Portuguese writer who visited Malabar during 1500-1516. He tells us of four immigrant castes living in Malabar. The first in his list is 'Chatis'. Barbosa writes that the majority of the chatis (*seṭṭhis*) are rich merchants who deal in precious stones, pearls and corals. "They dress differently from the natives and possess spacious houses in their own appointed streets. They speak a tongue (Konkani) which differs from that of Malabar. They live outside the local law and maintain peace and order among themselves apparently to the king's satisfaction. They have their own gods, temples, marital and burial customs and dietary habits."<sup>27</sup>

26. Copper plate *dānapatra* given to Kashi mathad Yādavendrātīrtha, śake 1403 (A. D. 1481); ŚB, pp. 106-107.

27. M. L. Dames (translated and ed.), *The Book of Durāte Barbosa*, II pp. 70-73 (quoted in Donald F. Lach, *India in the Eyes of Europe*, p. 368).



Goa fell to the Portuguese in 1510. Generally speaking from 1540 onwards the Portuguese-the Christian missionaries amongst them-escalated their proselytising mission in India. Priolkar's recent book *Goa Inquisition*,<sup>28</sup> explains the activities of the missionaries and the effect it had on the land system of the Goans. I shall not go into detail about it in this paper. However, the inquisition resulted in the exodus of many GSB families from Goa and their settlement in areas outside the Portuguese political influence. Lach<sup>29</sup> analysed the Jesuit Newsletters dealing with the events of 16th century Goa and he says that in them very little specific information is given on the caste of Goa. The Jesuit Newsletters, without specifying the brahmanas, criticize them 'for their obstinacy, arrogance and unwillingness to reason.' 16th century Goa appears to have been a period of major crisis in the history of the GSB and needs to be studied rather carefully. The Goa village communities were studied by Baden-Powell in a paper, 'The Villages of Goa in the Early 16th Century',<sup>30</sup> and more recently Koṣambi discussed the communities, and also the land tenure system of Goa which he considers a unique GSB heritage.<sup>31</sup> The equitable distribution of cultivable land and its product seems to be a special feature of this system.

#### *The GSB: 1700-1818 Maharashtra*

The GSB in Maharashtra and in Bombay are also known as Sheṇavis or Saraswats. The term Sheṇavi, as we have indicated elsewhere, has been used to denote the *smārth* subsection of the GSB community. Groups other than the GSB, unable to reckon the internal differences, take Sheṇavis to mean the total GSB community. This is not very unusual. The Maratha rulers and the English came into close contact with the majority of the *smārth* subgroup of the GSB and hence they appear to have given this nomenclature to other GSB also.

Many GSB from Goa and other areas on the west coast rose to prominence during Maratha rule in the 18th century.<sup>32</sup> In 1750

28. A. K. Priolkar, *Goa Inquisition*.

29. Lach, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-446.

30. B. H. Baden Powell, 'The villages of Goa in the Early 16th Century', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, pp. 261-291.

31. Koṣambi *op. cit.*, pp. 152-169.

32. James Grant Duff. *A History of the Mahratta* (S. M. Edwards, Ed.) 1921, vol. ii, pp. 281-282. It is interesting to note that Duff knew of Sheṇavis (GSB) as one of the brahmanas of Mahārāṣṭra and he calls them as such.



Rāņoji Shinde, the founder member of the House of Shindes of Gwalior, died. His chief minister was Ramachandra Mallhar Sukhatankar, a GSB, who was also a civil administrator in Poona. Mahādaji Shinde, the successor to Rāņoji, gave virtually all his key posts to members of the GSB. Shivabā Nānā of the GSB became the Governor of Ajmer province (*subhā*). Malva was managed by Vishram Narhar Kerkar and to top the list, the commander-in chief of the Shindes was Jivabādādā Baxi. Poona politics were managed by the Peshwā, a Chitpavan brahmana, and his Chitpavan group. Also there were many GSB with Holkar of Indore and other Maratha states in Madhya Pradesh and Gujrat. Shinde soon began to interfere with the state affairs of Poona. The Sheņsvit under the leadership of Jivabādādā Baxi's son, Bāļoji Tātyā (Pāgnis) were the opponents of Nānā Phadanavis, the Chitpavan kingmaker, and for some time at least, wielded considerable power in Poona politics. Because of Bāļoji's power Nānā Phadanavis had to flee from Poona for his life, eventually, however, to come back there and take his revenge on Bāļoji Tātyā by putting him in life imprisonment.

Bājirao II, the last of the Peshwā, a Chitpavan brahmana whos, interests were damaged by the Sheņavis, as soon as he came to, power ousted the Sheņavis, and put many of them to death with the help of one Sarjerao Ghatge. The GSB were considered as brahmanas in the Poona court in those days and to kill a brahmana publicly was the greatest sin. Bājirao II henceforward set to minimize his 'offence'. with the help of the Chitpavan brahmanas of Poona, Bājirao set to prove that the Sheņavis were not 'full' brahmanas, but were *trikarmi* ones.<sup>33</sup> Much of the Sheņavi land around Poona was confiscated and redistributed to the Chitpavans and Karhade brahmanas on the pretext that the Sheņavis had no right to receive *agrahāra* (the gift of a village to the brahmanas).<sup>34</sup> A decade earlier, however, in the time of Peshwā Mādhao Rao, his banker Gopal Naik Tāmbavekar decided

33. The brahmana's six duties (*ṣaṭakarmās*) are studying the vedas and teaching them, performing rites for himself, and for others, giving and accepting gifts. *Thrikarmi* means that one can study the vedas, perform rites for himself and give gifts, but is not fit for the other three rites of a brahmana.
34. See R. B. Gunjkar, *Saraswati maṇḍala*, pp. 180-188, for the conflict between the Peshawā Bajirao II and the GSB who were harassed by him. S. V. Ketkar, writing in 1910 (*An essay on Hinduism*, pp. 78ff), observes that the Saraswats (GSB) and other brahmanas have not been yet received by the Maratha brahmanas on terms of equality.



to give agrahāra gifts of house and property to the brahmanas of Maharashtra including the GSB. But there was a great debate in Poona whether the Sheṇavis (GSB) were *śaṭakarmi* brahmanas, fit to receive the agrahāra gifts. The chief justice of the Poona court Rāmashāstri Prabhūṇe and other Pandits gave a verdict in favour of the Sheṇavis, whose brahmana rights were thus recognised. Tambavekar accordingly gave gifts to several vedic *dasha granthi* GSB.<sup>35</sup>

The Peshwā's rule ended in 1818. The English came to power. The conflict, however, was not soon to be forgotten. Wherever the Chitpavans are in the majority and in a dominant position, in places such as Ratnagiri and Chiplona, they tend to harass the Sheṇavis. In their temples at Ratnagiri, Parasurām Kṣetra, etc. they would not allow a GSB to enter the *garbhagṛha* of the temples. Chitpavan in those areas would not accept the GSB as brahmanas. The GSB, for their part, reciprocate this feeling. In Goa, Kanara, Malabar, and other places where they are the significant majority, Chitpavans are not labelled brahmanas and their status in those places is that of local priestly group or Gavadā (supposedly prebrahmanic shaman priest), in Manjeshwar and Cochin, the GSB do not tolerate the Chitpavans in their temples and in some places in Malabar, they are not even allowed to touch the drinking wells. However, this is an extreme example. The Chitpavan, along with other brahmanas, may be allowed in the inner sections of the temples of Goa.

The GSB continued to serve the Maratha princely states of Gwalior, Baroda, Dhara etc. during the 19th century. However, their status was at times compromised there at the hands of the other Maharashtrian brahmanas. The GSB seem to have held their own, mobilizing their resources to organize a common front against such attempts. The import of this statement will be clear from the following two instances.

In 1183 one of the estate holders (*ināmadāra*) in Baroda state wanted to levy a tax on a petty landholder, Narayan Ramchandra Pednekar, who was a Sheṇavi. Pednekar pleaded that he was a brahmana and that the brahmanas were exempted from the state tax. The estate holder consulted one Chitpavan brahmana Aṇṇā Joshi

35. V. K. Bhawe, *Peshwe kālin Mahārāṣṭra*, pp. 369-370.



who said, "Sheṇavis are offspring of a brahmana woman and a kṣatriya father. They are a mixed class ((*saṁkara varāṇa*) and therefore not eligible to receive any gifts (*dānā grahaṇa*)."<sup>36</sup> Joshi even stated that the injunction was found in the Skandha Purāṇa. Other well-known Sheṇavis got together, took this as a deliberate affront to the whole community and petitioned against this order. Much evidence was cited to prove the brahmana status of the Sheṇavis. Two charters (*sanādas*) of land grants made to the GSB guru (caste head), one by Shahu Chatrapati and another by Madhavarao Peshwa, were cited as evidence. In the *sanada* signed by Madhavarao included a phrase: I Madhavarao Ballaḷa Pradhāna salute the guru as a follower (*śiṣyāntargata*). The implication being that Madhavarao, a Chitpavan brahmana, will not use such terms of respect to a non-brahmana. The state court of Baroda ultimately recognized the rights of the Sheṇavis and restored the property. It was discovered in this case that Aṇṇā Joshi cited the Skandha Purāṇa without actually consulting it.<sup>36</sup>

In another instance, in Gwalior State at the beginning of the century (1908), an account officer Oak, a Chitpavan brahmana, did not distribute annual brahmana gift money (*dakṣiṇā*) to the Sheṇavis on the grounds that the Sheṇavis were not brahmanas and therefore, not eligible for gifts. The matter was taken to the chief secretary of the State of Gwalior, who ruled that the Sheṇavis were brahmanas and that they should be given gifts. In order to prove that they were brahmanas, the Sheṇavis produced 38 documents which included, among others, copperplate gift deeds, the letters from Kashi brahmanas and several copies of charters of gifts given to the Sheṇavis as brahmanas from various states.<sup>37</sup>

*The GSB: 1870-1900, Bombay Presidency  
Gazette and Census Material*

Any serious and detailed study of the GSB in the late 19th century would first of all require a careful reading of the Bombay Presidency Gazetteers (BPG), published mostly in the 1880's, because of the ethnographical description found in them concerning the GSB. The data thus gathered can be supplemented by that of the Census of India 1871-1911.

36. Shri Gaikwad sarakāracā śharāva, śake 1805 (1883 A. D.), SB, pp. 571-76.

37. Lashkara Gwalior yethila Shinde sarakārcā śharāva, SB, pp. 576-77.



*The GSB Occupations*

The Census of 1881 tells us about the GSB occupations such as trading, cultivation and services in the government offices and commercial firms.<sup>38</sup> The Kanara BPG along with a few others, describes them as landed proprietors, traders and following services occupations in the Government, such as tax-collectors, surveyors, contractors, etc. The Kanara BPG<sup>39</sup> observes that no class has a monopoly of moneylending in Kanara district and the most important moneylenders are brahmanas. The GSB sub-group, Sastikars, are singled out as persons leading in commercial activities. A local proverb in Kanara, it is stated, says: if a forest is overgrown, let loose a goat; if a town is over-prosperous, let loose a Konkana (GSB).<sup>40</sup> The Imperial Gazette of India also mentions the 'chronic enmity' between the two GSB sub-groups in Kanara, Chitrapura Saraswats and Shenavis, over government jobs.<sup>41</sup> The 1911 Census Report of Cochin gives us details of the occupations followed by the different sub-sections of the brahmanas:<sup>42</sup>

	<i>Number per 1000 engaged in each occupation</i>		
	<i>Cultivation</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Religion</i>
Brahmana Konkane (GSB)	95	550	94
Brahmana Malayali	624	—	266
Brahmana Tamil	213	75	73

From the above, the GSB in Cochin quite obviously follow commercial occupations as they have been doing for centuries in that area. We may not get such details in other census reports. Often, the brahmana subcastes are lumped together to form a single brahmana caste and their occupations are listed vis-a-vis the other castes in the area.

The various BPG sum up the economic position of the GSB as: 'They are a rising class', 'generally well off', 'pushing and rising class', 'rising and prosperous people', and often a sentence is added to such phrases, 'they send their children to school'.<sup>43</sup>

38. Imperial Census of India, 1881, vol. 10, p. 128.

39. BPG. XV. pt. 2, p. 28.

40. BPG. XV. pt. 1, p. 138.

41. Imperial Gazetteer of India (1907 Ed.) vol. XIV, p. 345.

42. Census of India, 1911, vol. XVIII (Cochin), p. 101.

43. See BPG. XXII, p. 98; XIX, p. 56; p. 116; XXI, pp. 91-92.







# The philosophy of archaeology in India or Theoretical and methodological approaches in archaeological interpretation in India

BY

H. D. SANKALIA

I

A proposition such as this may outwardly seem irrelevant in the context of or background against which archaeology developed in India.\* For in India, unlike the U. S. A. for instance, archaeology was initially developed by the British who relied heavily on the knowledge of the classics—Greek, Latin, and ancient history and not on the knowledge of anthropology. Nor was the knowledge of the latter really very necessary, because there they were facing or to interpret an ancient civilization, and not illiterate or preliterate peoples of the newly conquered or colonized land. However, the very fact that the British were ruling over a conquered people had created a complex, an assumption that India could not have had a very ancient civilization, as ancient, for example as the Egyptian or the Mesopotamian, and what one saw of some significance in India was very likely derived from the Greek and the Achaemenian. For these scholars history in the proper sense began with Alexander the Great. Even this assumption was of a relatively later age. Earlier it was believed that there was no history of India before the Muhammadan conquest in the 11th century A. D. (Rapson 1922:v. Fergusson and Burgess 1910:7). However, one must not be critical of such views. These are of the pioneering workers and belong to the historical process, and the conditions obtaining at the time when the views were expressed.

\* The study of Indian archaeology is more than a hundred years old. It covers a vast period of time. And according to its definition in India anything older than 1860 is an antiquity, and might be "protected." It is not easy in a short paper like this to do justice to all the views—assumptions or hypotheses—made so far. Only those which struck the author as remarkable or important have been dealt with here. But it is more than probable that many an important one is missed.



All the same, the assumption that India lacked in ancient cultures, rarely explicitly expressed, had governed the planning of much of the archaeological work in India, until the discovery of Mohenjodaro in the twenties of this century.

Naturally then, for well-nigh 50 years, what was discovered were temples, stupas, and mosques—religious monuments alone—were discovered and furthermore their preliminary classification was attempted. Behind these classifications there no doubt were some assumptions, not all necessarily right. After the leading workers and writers of the time, we may call them :

1. The Cunningham School
2. The Fergusson School
3. The Havell School
4. The Marshall School
5. The Havell-Coomaraswamy-Zimmer-Kramrisch School
6. The Codrington School
7. The Ghosh-Dhaky School.

#### *The Cunningham School*

General Cunningham was the first Director General of Archaeology in India. For planning his explorations, particularly in North India, and identifying the monuments and sites discovered by him and his assistants, he had to rely heavily on the accounts of the foreign travellers—Hiuen Tsiang (Cunningham, 1871, preface iv), and also to some extent on the scraps of Greek notices of India, preserved in Arrian and other early writers. This was because it was thought that few indigenous accounts were preserved, or that Indians possessed no written history nor did they care to record past events.

#### *The Fergusson School.*

Fergusson<sup>1</sup> was one of the first to prepare a history of Indian architecture, based on the discoveries of monuments made by Cunningham and others (though he was preceded much earlier by Ram Raz).

1. He was also of the opinion that India had no history properly so-called, and that Indian Art in spite of its uniqueness, in spite of the fact that it was a living art, unlike the Greek and the Roman, could never reach the intellectual supremacy, or the moral greatness of Rome.



Born and brought up in the West, and not well acquainted with Indian traditions, he broadly classified or grouped the various monuments after a linguistic and regional pattern such as :

- (i) Temples of Northern India (Indo-Aryan)
- (ii) Dravidian temples
- (iii) Chalukyan temples

Fergusson also thought that only the early Indian art was good. In later times it gradually decayed. He further came to the conclusion that Islamic art and architecture owed nothing to the Hindu, and that the former was aesthetically superior (Fergusson and Burgess 1910).

#### *The Marshall School:*

Sir John Marshall tried to correct this impression. He differed from Fergusson. He maintained that the Indian art and architecture showed a steady progress, not decline. But Marshall still believed like many earlier British writers that the Indians were primitive, for he said "this (steady progress) is seen.....in the artistic efforts of all primitive people" (Marshall in Rapson 1922 : 618).

#### *The Havell School :*

E. B. Havell was perhaps the first to strike an altogether different note. In his several works, but particularly in his *The Ideals of Indian Art*, 1911, he tried to show how history of Indian art and architecture was a history of national life and thought, how all its essential and vital creative impulses were derived from indigenous movements and here not dependent upon outside forces and contacts, and how there was no fundamental antagonism between Hindu and Islamic beliefs, which have often been assumed to exist, and moulded their art and architecture. Above all, the distinctive quality of Indian Art is its value in the synthesis of Indian life. (Havell 1927: vii.)

Probably the pendulum was swinging the other way, almost to nationalistic thinking at moments. From down right condemnation and a little, halting, appreciation of some aspects of Indian art, critics began to discern a meaning and a significance where perhaps there was none, or at least, very possibly not intended by the artist himself.



Some of Havell's views find further elaboration, amplification, clarification and refinement in Coomaraswamy, Zimmer and Kramrisch. Kramrisch's writings are oftener surcharged with metaphysical interpretations of Indian art; one truly wonders at the artists' knowledge, stature and limitations. True, sacred texts are cited in support of this approach, the texts beginning with the Vedas, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the like. But the monuments to which these texts are applied are themselves much later (Coomaraswamy, 1950 and Kramrisch, 1955).

As Bose pointed out long ago (Bose 1931:4) such profound penetration in the minds of bygone architects is not only rare, but the results are incapable of scientific verification.<sup>2</sup> At the most one can carry out a scientific study of the outer forms, according to the canons of architecture prevalent in each region.

### *The Codrington School*

K. de B. Codrington, who also approached the subject more sympathetically than Fergusson and earlier writers, attempted primarily a regional and dynastic study and tried to ascribe the various sculptures and monuments within definite spatial limits and dynastic rules (Codrington 1926). This line of approach was also followed by most subsequent writers on Indian art and architecture including the author for the study of the monuments in Gujarat (Sankalia 1941).

Codrington in fact gave a new direction for the interpretation of Indian art. His basic assumption, like that of Hauser (1957), is that art, through all the different periods, has been reflecting the contemporary social life. He made a modest beginning by a brief study of the Ajanta murals (Codrington, 1930). Later Sivaramamurti showed that life depicted in the Amaravati carvings (Sivaramamurti 1942) can, to a great extent, be corroborated by literary evidence. Naik, too, analysed the evidence from Nagarjunikonda sculptures from this point of view (Naik, 1940). In this field V. S. Agrawala (1953) and Moti Chandra (sam. 2007) have made significant

2. However, in our desire to be scientific, we must not be biased. For, where the truth is no one knows. Hence Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch might be right !!



contribution. In recent years Dhavalikar has made an intensive study of Ajanta paintings and the Sanchi reliefs and showed that the life depicted in them is not the result of the artist's fancy, but that it can be substantiated to a considerable extent by the contemporaneous literary evidence and confirmed by the accounts of foreign visitors (Dhavalikar, 1963 & 1965).

### *The Ghosh-Dhaky School*

Later writers have however found that this line of study was defective. Ghosh, for instance, indicated the inherent incongruity of a system of dynastic criteria and advocated regional basis for stylistic groupings. Dhaky who approaches monuments in a biologist mould has tried to formulate broad sub-regional groups, as for instance, his Maru-Gurjara style of temple architecture. He would relate a certain group of temples in Gujarat and Rajasthan built between the 11th-13th century A.D. to a regional style and to the codes of architecture composed in this region (Dhaky (1961, 1966, 1967). This is but one example of the current trend of thinking in historical archaeology.

Until 1930, prehistoric archaeology was in the background. After the discovery of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, and Burkitt's interpretation of the south-east Indian stone age material, and De Terra's and Paterson's work in the Panjab, (that) prehistoric archaeology really began to be taken seriously. Here there was more scope for assumptions because the discoveries were to be explained. First in the chronological order of discoveries comes the Indus civilization. The various assumptions are:

- (i) The Indus-civilization is pre-Aryan and perhaps Dravidian.
- (ii) The civilization is connected with the Mesopotamian.
- (iii) The civilization was destroyed among other factors (things) by the gradual change in climate in Sind, the Panjab and Baluchistan.
- (iv) Later Wheeler thought that it was destroyed by the Aryans.
- (v) Raikes and Dales inferred that it was destroyed among other causes by the rise in river level.
- (vi) Fairservis attributes the destruction mainly to the environmental factors.



*Vincent Smith School*

There was one more assumption, first made by Vincent Smith, and later upheld by Marshall, that South India had no Copper Age. (Marshall in Rapson 1922:615). It had passed straight from the Stone Age into the Iron Age. After the first scholar we shall have to call it the Vincent Smith School.

In the field of pure prehistory, that relating to Stone Ages proper, the three principal assumptions were:-

- (i) The Early Stone Age could be grouped into two:
  - (a) The Soan or the Pebble Tool culture;
  - (b) The hand-Axe or the Madras Axe Culture.

The former was sought to be related to South East Asia.

- (ii) The Hand-Axe Culture was thought to have originated in South India by De Terra.

Behind this there was the simple and assumed belief

- (a) that there was no pebble tool culture in peninsular India (or even if there was one, it was later and developed by contact with the Soan Culture);
- (b) that the handaxe culture had migrated to the north from around Madras, because here the tools were believed to have been found in earlier geological deposits;
- (c) that the former was non-violent and vegetarian, the latter war-like and non-vegetarian (Paterson and Drummond 1962).

In all these prehistoric studies there is great scope for climatic interpretations besides the functional, geographical, briefly called environmental archaeology.

While De Terra and Paterson based their views on the climate on the occurrence or non-occurrence of glacial deposits in the Kashmir and Himalayan foothills and the Potwar plateau, Burkitt relied for his interpretation on the landscape witnessed on the south-east coast.

*Zeuner School*

Later Zeuner based his interpretation of past climate in North Gujarat on the study of river deposit as well as on the presence of rhinoceros in the microlithic deposits (Zeuner 1950). This trend of



thought or interpretation first started by Zeuner is being followed by a number of prehistorians including the author. Hence we may call this the Zeuner School. With this school is also associated another, made more familiar or current by me, that the river beds are gradually getting more and more restricted, for the younger deposits lie against the older ones at lower depth.

### *Richards-Rao School*

Other important assumptions are

1. That the development of cultures, civilizations and empires in India has been influenced by geographical factors.  
This principle first enunciated by F. F. Richards, was beautifully developed by the late Dr. B. Subbarao (Subbarao 1958). This is, therefore, called the Richard-Rao School.
2. It was also assumed by Prof. Von Haimendorf that some of the surviving preliterate tribes in India, particularly in the south, could be correlated with the various Stone Age Culture. Thus the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh with the Palaeolithic.
- 2a. In prehistoric times the Indian Ocean was an unitary 'culture-pool', and the various Stone Age cultures of India were introduced from Africa through the transfer of ideas (Wheeler 1959 : 58-60).
- 2b. The Middle Stone Age Culture was largely confined to areas of intermittent rainfall, avoiding area of low rainfall (for example Western Rajasthan) (Allchin, B. 1966, p. 78) and heavy rainfall (Bombay area).
3. The Megaliths in the South were sought to be explained in two ways :  
(a) either as the work of people who had migrated from Europe (Haimendorf)  
(b) or as the product of people who had come from South-East Asia.
4. So also the Neolithic or Polished Axe Culture. One school of thought derives it from Iran or Western Asia (Allchin 1960-61).
- 4a. Another school from the east (Wheeler 1959-89).
5. Likewise the birth or the existence of the Chalcolithic cultures in Central India and the Deccan may be explained



- a. either as the result of culture-contact or actual migration of people from Western Asia, particularly Iran (Sankalia 1964; Allchin 1960-61).
  - b. or as indigenous cultures (Krishnaswami 1959).
6. At the root of the assumptions (4 and 6) is of course the basic assumption first made by Breasted and then elaborated by the late Prof. Gordon Childe and then slightly modified by Braidwood that the Fertile Crescent—its enlarged versions—is the Cradle of Civilization. And from here by slow diffusion civilizing influences spread east and west.

### *The Traditional View*

In this connexion one should also mention the traditional Indian view, which unlike the Mesopotamian, regards India as the home of the Vedic and the later civilizations. Until recently there was no archaeological evidence to substantiate this universally held assumption. But during the last five years cultures earlier than or contemporary with the Harappan cultures have been unearthed in Sind, North Rajasthan and recently in Central India. Surface indications suggest that some of these might be traced as far east as Kausambi or even Varanasi, in Uttar Pradesh, and that these might be one of the source of the highly developed Harappan Civilization.

### *Guha-Sewell and Sen School*

There is also an archaeo-anthropological assumption or assumptions. So many anthropologists basing their inference on the study of human skeletal remains have come to very far-reaching conclusions about the racial types of the people inhabiting the site or sites excavated. Of this the most important, of course, are the views of Guha and Sewell on the composition of the population of the Indus Civilization. Then there are many others well known to all the archaeologists. Recently this has been rightly challenged by Shri D. K. Sen, Director, Anthropological Survey of India (Sen 1967). Briefly, we shall call this the Guha-Sewell and Sen School. Sen says, "From a very brief analysis of a few selected traits which are generally employed by the anthropologists for racial analysis, we no doubt obtain some idea of the sample represented by the skeletons found at Harappa. Thus, judging from the above means we find that the Harappans were long-headed and high domed groups, the sexes not differing markedly in these characteristics. They had medium-high faces and orbits of medium dimensions. While the population was markedly



broad-nosed as a whole, the females of the series show relatively more flattened noses than their male counterparts. The palates of both sexes were broad generally, with the females registering a somewhat broader aspects than those of males.

"On the whole the population was reasonably homogeneous, and females formed part of the population. Further, since there is no marked heterogeneity in the material at our disposal, the hypothesis that the group is formed by more than one discrete population must be held as not proved. Under the circumstances, to postulate several racial stocks or elements going into the formation of the Harappans should be considered as presumptuous and the result perhaps of wishful thinking, and not as a statement based on scientific reasonings." (Sen 1967 : 202)

## II

### *Discussion : Historical Archaeology*

We now briefly discuss the implications or grounds behind the various assumptions mentioned above, and their justification.

Though at this distance of time, after nearly a hundred years, we are apt to question the assumptions made by Cunningham and Fergusson, still *historically* they were not quite unsound. Little was known of India at that time. Whatever was discovered then had to be explained and classified, and what Fergusson did, seemed rational: a broad regional classification based on a quasi-racial or linguistic pattern. And if he applied European or western standards to what he had before him in India, it was because indigenous ones were yet unknown, though Ram Raz had, much earlier, attempted to interpret the South Indian temples with the help of Silpasastra and the living tradition of temple architecture (Ram Raz 1835). A corrective was necessary, and this came from Havell, Coomaraswamy, Zimmer and Kramrisch, Shri Aurobindo and V. S. Agrawala. But all these Scholars and philosophers one might feel, overstepped the limit of historical criticism, and read a meaning in the works of art and architecture which may not always and so much be there. Their appreciation appears, subjective, as was that of Fergusson purely formal or objective. As Bose said their views are not, capable of scientific verification.<sup>1</sup>

1. Please see footnote 1 on p. 30 above.



Ghosh, Dhaky and others showed the drawbacks of purely dynastic approach to monuments first clearly enunciated by Codrington and adopted by Sankalia and other workers. Larger regional affinities, it was shown, surpass the comparatively smaller limits set by dynastic geography. However, a small temple by itself should not be regarded as necessarily early in the development of a particular style of architecture. Its size might have been perforce small, because the ruler who patronized it could not afford to build a large temple either because he was busy waging wars or that his kingdom had not sufficiently developed and hence was not prosperous enough. Thus a fuller investigation than hitherto attempted seems called for.

Again it is also a problem how far artist-architect was guided by the existing written or traditional canons, and how far he was free to experiment. For a literary or slavish reading of the *vāstuśāstra* or *śilpaśāstra* works on art and architecture would mar all future development. As in law, codification follows the existing practices.

While one can justify some of the earlier views on the appreciation of Indian art, one cannot so easily defend Marshall's view, bracketing India with other primitive cultures. For he wrote nearly fifty years after the first systematic discoveries were made in India, and both the Europeans and Indians had written about the origin of Indian Culture. We can attribute this view, as also the latest one by the late Sir Leonard Woolley (1963:406), to the inborn or inherent prejudice of the Westerners against things Indian or Eastern. And above all, to their respect for the modern material civilization and incomprehension of the ancient civilization in which the things and thoughts spiritual had higher values in life. Fergusson's view that Indians were morally and aesthetically inferior to the Romans and Greeks respectively stemmed from a similar bias.

### III

#### *Prehistoric Archaeology*

The earlier views of Smith and Marshall about the non-existence of Copper Age in South India were certainly based on inadequate knowledge or ignorance to remove which few systematic attempts were made then. This is particularly regrettable when Marshall had truly grasped the significance of the casual discovery of a few



pictographic seals from Harappa, illustrated them and said that one could not disregard the existence of the knowledge of kiln-made bricks in India a thousand years before 300 B. C. (Marshall in Rapson 1922: 617-18). Still he did nothing to follow up this knowledge, and waited for the chance discovery at Mohenjodaro.

The assumptions made by De Terra and Paterson about the climatic conditions in the Panjab have some (much) basis in geology, though one would question their assumptions, particularly that of Paterson, in evaluating the life and culture of the Soan men. To regard this man as non-violent and vegetarian simply because no large cutting tools like cleavers and pointed tools like hand axes are found in the collection is to assume too much (Sankalia 1967: 36-40). In the first place, we do not have a full picture of their tool-kit; secondly, among the pebble tools, there are some with broad cutting edge (unilateral and bilateral oblates) and pointed tools (pointed oblate). More over, as pointed out by Lewis Mumford, there has been an overemphasis on tool using and tool-making (Mumford 1967: 14).

In the non glacial tract of the Peninsular India, the chronology and the environment of Early Man have been closely linked with the climatic changes of the Pleistocene (Sankalia, Zeuner etc. 1950-1964). It has been assumed that because of the glacial and interglacial climatic episodes in the Himalayan and in the higher latitudes, the Peninsula experiences wetter and drier climatic cycles during the Pleistocene. The inferences regarding the climatic changes have been mainly based on the field characters of the sedimentary bodies of the Pleistocene alluvium and on the aggrading and eroding tendencies of streams. All these inferences of the climatic changes seem to have been based on very inadequate studies.

In the first place it has never been made clear about the exact nature of wetter or pluvial and drier or interpluvial climates and these terms seems to have been used without giving sufficient thought to modern hydrology, climatology and the geomorphic history of the region. The equation of coarser gravelly bodies and finer silty alluvium with either the wet or dry climate seem to be merely based on earlier worker's intuitive ideas rather than on actual objective field and laboratory investigations. Secondly, aggrading and eroding phases of the streams have been thought to be due to wetter and drier



climates respectively without ever knowing the past vegetational pattern in the river valleys. In recent years some of the streams from Western Maharashtra (Rajguru-Corvinus *et al* 1967) have been studied. It now seems that the earlier presumption that the region under consideration was tectonically stable in the Pleistocene needs complete reconsideration.

It has been found that

- (i) the present streams are in rejuvenated state,
- (ii) these streams were dominantly aggrading and eroding in the upper and pre-upper Pleistocene respectively,
- (iii) in the very source regions of many of the streams the rock-cut terraces have been very well preserved
- (iv) the thickness and the aerial extent of the older or Pleistocene alluvium preserved varies in different valleys. Some of the valleys clearly indicate the presence of downwarp basins which favoured comparatively better preservation of the alluvium
- (v) waterfalls occur at a particular level in some of the valleys.
- (vi) some of the scarp faces flanking the valleys do not seem to be erosional.

All these observations suggest that the region might not have been tectonically as stable as thought so far and perhaps it was subjected to differential tectonic movements almost throughout the Pleistocene. Very recently the large part of the Western Maharashtra was rocked by a severe earthquake, the epicentre of which lay very close to the Koyna Project. A good deal of geological, geophysical and siesmological investigations have been carried out both by Indian and foreign experts. The exact cause of the earthquake has not yet been found. Some attribute the cause to tectonic movements, while some to the initiation of new igneous activity. These divided opinions of the experts only point to our very poor knowledge of the geological, especially tectonic, history of the region.

Thus unless our knowledge of the tectonic history of the region attains certain degree of accurateness it might seem futile to build a climatic history of the Pleistocene on shaky foundations.

This criticism is indeed right. In justification of the assumptions it can only be said that every one of them is (or was) provisi-



onal. Each assumption needs to be supported by geological, and palynological knowledge. But these as well as others in the field of protohistory are necessary to give some explanation of the existing observations. These should really serve as incentives to further, more exacting research. Thus Raïke's hypotheses, admirable as they were initially, have been questioned by Possehl (1967) and Lambrio and will always be suspect unless verified by further work. Wheeler's theory has already been shaken from its roots, and will be toppled down unless supported by more proof. The discovery of the Middle Stone Age (in Middle Palaeolithic) and the Upper Palaeolithic in India was due to the assumption of a gap between the Hand-axe Cleaver and Pebble Tools on the one hand and the microliths on the other. The gap was indeed too wide to be easily accepted. Systematic attempts to verify or correct the assumptions were necessary. Planned explorations have demonstrated how premature was Bridget Allchin's assumption about the distributional and environmental pattern of the Middle Stone Age Culture (Allchin B. 1966:78).

The assumption that the Painted Grey Ware sites represent the Mahābhārata sites and the former might represent a wave or group of the Aryans (Lal 1954-55) led to a regular search in the Gangetic Valley and it is still continuing, and now we have a much clearer picture of the culture sequences in this region than 16 years ago.

Assumptions or hypotheses are the soul or pillars of all research. These should, doubtless, be judiciously made and must not be dogmatic. For very often, though very haltingly made, on very inadequate data, they are passed on as gospel truth. Witness for instance the late Rev. Father Heras' identification of the Harappans with the Dravidians (Heras 1953) and Wheeler's attribution of the destruction of this civilization to the Aryans (Wheeler 1946). For as in Hitler's Germany, these two hypotheses have done incalculable harm in setting up the south against the north. Smouldering antagonism against Brahmins and so-called Aryan Brahmins have taken the shape of a political vendetta.

The present "search of our soul" is indeed brief. I hope to expand it at a later date.



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## Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in the 16th Century

—DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

*AGRA*—The metropolitan city of Agra was at the opening of the sixteenth century a village of antiquity whose existence dated back to the age of the Mahabharata. It is said that Raja Kans, maternal uncle of Lord Krishna, had here a castle for prisoners of high rank<sup>1</sup>. Tradition ascribes the name Agra to the 'Agraban' (dense forest) in the midst of which this important village was situated. Before it became the capital of Sikandar Lodi (1498-1517) in 1504 A.D., it was included in the district of Bayana,<sup>2</sup> an ancient town in the modern Bharatpur Division of Rajasthan, some fifty miles south west of it. Agra must have been a place of importance in the early medieval age, for it had a powerful fortress called Bādalgarh which was invaded by an army of Ibrahim Ghaznavi under his son Prince Mahmud, a descendant of the famous Mahmud of Ghazni in 1080 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter little is known about it till Sikandar Lodi made it his capital in 1504. Sikandar built a brick fort or repaired the ancient Bādalgarh on the western bank of the Yamuna for his residence, and a large city sprang up on the eastern bank of the river. Akbar (1556-1605) demolished the brick-fort and erected on its site a new and grander fortress of red sandstone, which contained five-hundred magnificent buildings of Bengali and Gujarati styles, at a cost of thirtyfive lakhs of rupees.<sup>4</sup> The fort had four gates and two sally ports.<sup>5</sup> The city itself lay on both the banks of the Yamuna. Agra of the Lodis and of the first two Mughal Emperors—Babur and Humayun—lay along the left

1. Abdulla, 'Tarikh-i-Daudi', (Patna, ms) 78-79.
2. Ain-i-Akhari, Ain, II (2nd ed.) 191; Narul-Haq, 'Zubdat-ul-Tawarikh', (Udai-pur, ms), p- 137. For the circumstances leading to Sikandar's choosing Agra for his capital see 'Makhzan-i-Afghāni' by Niamatulla. vide E & D Vol. V, p. 91.
3. 'Diwan-i-Salman', E & D Vol. IV, 522-24; E. D., IV, 205 Fn; Tuzuk i-Jahangiri (R & B). Vol. I. 4; Abdulla, op. cit., 79.
4. Tuzuk, op. cit., I.3; Ain II, 191.
5. Tuzuk, op. cit., I.3.



or the eastern bank of the river, was five miles in circuit, and from north to south two miles long and from west to east half a mile broad. Babur's elegant garden, *Gul-i Afshin* (modern Rāmāgh) was laid out on the left bank of the river and had a building, a bath and a mosque within its enclosure. During the reign of Akbar the city rapidly extended along the western bank of the river and miles beyond in the western direction, and on that side its population greatly exceeded that of the eastern part. In the early days of Jehangir's reign the western part of the city was 14 miles in circuit and from east to west two miles in breadth.<sup>6</sup> Father Anthony Monserrate, the first European missionary and traveller to see Agra with his own eyes in 1580 and leave an account of his impression writes that Agra is "a magnificent city" and famous because of "its mild climate, of its fertile soil, of its great river, of its beautiful gardens, of its fame that spread to the end of the earth, and of its large size." It was 4 miles long and 2 miles broad. He adds, "all the necessities and conveniences of human life can be obtained here, if desired. This is even true of articles which have to be imported from distant corners of Europe. There are great numbers of artisans, iron-workers and goldsmiths. Gems and pearls abound in large numbers. Gold and silver are plentiful, as also are horses from Persia and Tartary. Indeed the city is flooded with vast quantities of many types of commodity. Hence Agra is seldom visited by dearth of food supplies."<sup>7</sup>

An English traveller, Ralph Fitch, who visited Agra in September 1585 says that it was much larger in dimensions and population than London, and as the latter town had then a population of a little less than two lakhs, Agra's population must have been in the last quarter of the sixteenth at least two lakhs.<sup>8</sup> Jahangir notes in his autobiography that "in the number of its buildings it is equal to several cities of Iraq, Khurasan and Mawar-un-Nahr (Trans-oxiana) put together. Many persons have erected buildings of three or four

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 3.

7. *Commentarius*, 35-36.

8. Foster, *Early Travels* (E. T.) 17-18. For London's population during the last quarter of the 16th century see V. A. Smith, 'Akbar the Great Mogul,' (1917), p. 108. fn. No. 5.



storeys in it. The mass of the people is so great that moving about in the lanes and bazars is difficult."<sup>9</sup> These observations about Agra's dimensions and populations are confirmed by another contemporary European visitor, William Finch, who spent a few months in the city in 1610 A.D. He says that Agra with its suburbs was seven miles long and three miles broad, and was densely populated.<sup>10</sup>

Agra was not a walled city, but it had a dry ditch all round and six lofty gateways erected by Akbar for defence and adornment.<sup>11</sup> These gateways were: Madār, Chahārsu, Nīm, Nūrī, Bans, and puttū. The imposing Delhi gateway in the west, near the modern Raja-ki-Mandi Railway Station, seems to have been built later. Great nobles had built stately residential mansions of stone and bricks along both the banks of the Yamuna,<sup>12</sup> and wealthy merchants and other well-to-do people had their stone and brick houses in the interior of the city. Palatial buildings were erected by vassal ruling chiefs in the suburban areas for themselves, their staff and troops, as they had to be in attendance at the court on important ceremonial occasions and for mounting guard round the royal fort by turns for fixed days. But the houses of the poor people were made of mud and covered with thatches of straw and were subject to fire during the summer season when strong winds were common.<sup>13</sup> The streets of the city occupied by the nobility and covered by the main bazars were of paved stone-slabs and clean, but those of other parts were dirty. Speaking about the city Finch observes, "It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly pass in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great bazar and some few others, which are large and fair."<sup>14</sup>

Abul Fazl speaks well of the climate of Agra as being healthy.<sup>15</sup> Jahangir, however, gives more objective account. "Air of Agra"

9. Tuzuk, op. cit., Vol. I, 3.

10. William Finch; Vide Foster, 'Early Travels in India', 182, 185

11. Ibid., 185; De Laet, 'The Empire of the Great Mogul', 37.

12. William Finch, op. cit., 182; De Laet, op. cit., 37.

13. William Finch, op. cit., 146, 185

14. Ibid., 182; Nicholas Withington, vide, Foster, E. T. I., 226.

15. Ain, II, 190.



he writes, "is warm and dry; physicians say that it depresses the spirits and induces weakness."<sup>16</sup> The English traveller Finch found himself half-roasted in the extreme heat of June in 1610.<sup>17</sup>

The historian Abul Fazl who was proud of having been born in Agra, dwells on its "delightful villas and pleasant stretches of meadow," delicious fruits and flowers, "sweetscented oil and betel-leaf of the first quality," and remarks significantly that "its melons and grapes rival those of Persia and Transoxiana."<sup>18</sup> Jahangir who was endowed with a discriminating taste for fruit and flowers, is all praise for Agra's products, and says that even pine-apples (*anannās*) were produced in abundance in Babur's Gul-i Afshān garden.<sup>19</sup> All contemporary observers agree that this city was a great emporium of the traffic and trade of the world. As regards the people, contemporary observers were well impressed by them. "The inhabitants of Agra", writes Jahangir, "exert themselves greatly in the acquirement of crafts and the search after learning. Various professors of every religion and creed have taken up their abode in the city."<sup>20</sup> Contrary to the guess of Count Von Noer, the German biographer of Akbar, the people of Agra city and district were not soft or docile. They gave evidences of their turbulence whenever there was laxity or negligence on the part of the administration and created disturbance in the twinkling of an eye.<sup>21</sup>

There was, of course, no mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Daulah and no Taj-Mahal, and all the white marble buildings inside the Fort including the lovely Pearl Mosque were erected by Shah Jahan in the 17th century. The grand Jami mosque near the fort was not there and Akbar's splendid mausoleum at Sikandara was just coming up.

#### FATEHPUR SIKRI—

Fatehpur Sikri too like Agra was originally a village<sup>22</sup> of the name of Sikri in the district of Bayana and lay 24 miles to the west

16. Tuzuk, op. cit., I, 4.

17. William Finch, op. cit., 146.

18. Ain-II (2nd ed.) 190; A. N. II, 76; Babur, Memoirs (Bev.) Section-III, 686.

19. Tuzuk, op. cit., I, 5.

20. Ibid., Vol. I, 7.

21. Akbar Nama, Per Text (A. N.), Vol. III, 231.

22. Ain-II, (2nd ed.) 191.



of that city. It rose to be a magnificent city owing to Akbar's personal efforts and patronage. In fact it was the outcome of a pious wish on the part of that emperor whose eldest son Salim was born on August 30, 1569 due to the blessings, it was supposed, of the renowned Sufi saint Shaikh Salim Chishti, near his hermitage in the hill of Sikri, and therefore considering the place lucky for himself, he desired to make it his residence. The idea took a firm root when his second son Murad too had seen the light (June 7, 1570) at Fatehpur Sikri. And as soon as he had some leisure after the successful execution of his favourite design of the subjugation of almost the whole of Rajasthan, he took steps in November 1571 for building royal palaces on the ridge of Sikri and founding a city down below. "In as much as", records the court historian, "his exalted sons (Salim and Murad) had taken their birth in Sikri and the God-knowing spirit of Shaikh Salim had taken possession thereof, his holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot which possessed spiritual grandeur."<sup>23</sup> A large irregular rectangular space two miles (north to south) long by one mile (east to west) broad and seven miles in circuit was enclosed on three sides by a strong-bastioned-stone wall with nine gates four of which, namely, the Agra gate in the east Ajmer gate to the west, Dholpur gate and the Elephant gate (*Hāthi Pole*) also called Delhi-gate to the north were important.<sup>24</sup> The fourth side (south-west) of the rectangle was protected by a large artificial lake many miles in area. Within this vast enclosure nobles, officials and others were invited to build houses for themselves<sup>25</sup> and a large city, more populous than Agra grew up with numerous palatial buildings, gardens, baths and bazars. The gifted Jesuit Missionary Monserrate was particularly impressed by the beautiful royal palaces, the king's audience hall a great building supported on arches with a spacious courtyard around, the extensive polo-ground, splendid *hammams* (baths), the charming lake and the main market.<sup>26</sup> This market extended from the city gate in the north-east for half a mile southward, and had "a spacious straight-paved street, with fair buildings on either side."<sup>27</sup> Monserrate confirms that it "is more than half a mile long and is filled with an astonishing quantity of every description of merchandise, and with

23. Abul Fazl, A N II (Bev) 530-531

24. Commentarius, 31

25. Muhammad Arif Qandhari, 'Tarikh-i-Akbarshahi', (Allahābad, ms) 238

26. Commentarius, 30-31

27. William Finch, E. T. I., 149.



countless people who are always standing there in dense crowds."<sup>28</sup> The city's northern gateway, named Hāthi-pole, but called the Circus-gate by Monserrate, having two gigantic stone elephants with uplifted trunks in front looked very striking. The statues were beautiful and "so majestic and so true to life that one might judge them to be the work of Phidias."<sup>29</sup> In one corner of the polo-ground that lay outside this gate way there stood a lofty tower for measuring mile stones.<sup>30</sup> There were large suburbs outside the city wall.<sup>31</sup>

For the royal palaces and other buildings, the ridge of the hill was levelled to yield an irregular flat space nearly a mile long (north to south) and a furlong broad. Upon this eminence a compact group a series of palaces, private and public audience halls, administrative buildings and offices, was raised. The Jami Masjid and Shaikh Salims's mausoleum and other ancillary edifices with two prominent gates including the famous *Buland Darwaza*, formed another slightly detached block. On the slopes on all the four sides of the rocky eminence were erected offices, sarais, baths, wells, the treasury and the mint. Elegant gardens and attractive parks were laid out on the eminence which was beautified with four gate-ways of which the Agra-gate in the east and Hāthi-pole in the west on the lake are even now in a fairly good state of preservation. Jahangir writes in his autobiography: "My revered father, considering the village of Sikri, which was the place of my birth, lucky for him, made it his capital. In the course of 14 or 15 years that hill, full of wild beasts became a city containing all kinds of gardens and buildings, and lofty, elegant edifices and pleasant palaces, attractive to heart. After the conquest of Gujarat this village was named Fatehpur."<sup>32</sup>

The members of the first Christian Mission that arrived at Fatehpur Sikri on February 28, 1580 were struck at "the great size and magnificent appearance of the city."<sup>33</sup> The historian of the mission was also amazed at the rapidity with which it was completed.

28. Commentarius, 30

29. Ibid., 34.

30. Ibid.

31. William Finch, E. T. I., 149; De Laet, op cit., 42.

32. Tuzuk, op. cit., 1, 2.

33. Commentarius, 27.



The stones were brought ready made, chiselled to shape, from a distance and fixed up in their proper places, and the city arose as if by magic within a short space of time.<sup>34</sup> Its population in 1585 was a little over two lakhs. Ralph Fitch, an English traveller, who visited the place that year wrote: "town is greater than Agra, but the houses and streets be not so fair.....Agra and Fatehpur Sikri are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London, and very populous. Between Agra and Fatehpur are twelve miles (*kos*) and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market."<sup>35</sup>

Fatehpur Sikri remained Akbar's residence and capital from 1571 to 1585, that is, for some 14 years only. In August 1585 he was obliged to proceed to Lahore to guard against an invasion by Abdullah Khan Uzbek, ruler of Transoxiana (Turān). He stayed at Lahore for about 13 years until the disappearance of the Uzbek threat and returned to Agra, not to Fatehpur Sikri, to proceed almost immediately after for the reconquest of Khandesh. On August 1, 1601 he returned to Fatehpur Sikri for a few days' stay enroute to Agra. European merchants and travellers and their modern compatriots have made much of the scarcity of water as the principal cause of the so-called 'desertion' of Fatehpur Sikri. The real cause was political, namely, the necessity of his presence near his frontier for meeting a threatened invasion from the north-west. Fatehpur Sikri's grandeur was ephemeral, as it was dependent on court patronage. When the court left for Lahore, the city sank at the end of the 16th century into a second rate town. It has, however, not lost its cultural and historical importance.

34. Ibid., 30; Srivastava, 'Akbar the Great', 1, 130.

35. Ralph Fitch, Vide, Foster, E. T., 17-18.







# The Brāhmaṇas in Early Buddhist Literature

BY

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The relationships between Early Buddhism and the Brāhmaṇas were characterized by a curious combination of reluctant admiration and an undisguised dislike on both sides. Early Buddhism began as a protest against Brāhmanism both as ritual-philosophical system and a social phenomenon. The Buddha firmly rejected the social and intellectual claims of the Brāhmaṇas of his time and asserted that the Khattiyas, to which he claimed that his tribe of the Sākya belonged, were superior to the Brāhmaṇas in all respects.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand a substantial section of the Early Buddhist elite was ex-Brāhmaṇa and some of the leading disciples of the Buddha also belonged to that class.<sup>2</sup> The Brāhmaṇa class was much too ubiquitous and firmly entrenched in positions of intellectual and social leadership to be easily ignored by Early Buddhism. It had not then emerged into a caste, as the institution developed in the later centuries, but it had already acquired a social cohesiveness and an economic power by which members of the group were able to function as a well-knit and articulate segment of contemporary society. The Brāhmaṇas, on their side, were not overtly willing to concede the

1. For the origin of the Sākyas see Bhikkhu J. Kashyap (Ed), *Dīghanikāya* (Nalanda, 1958), I, Pp. 80-81; The Pāli texts used for this paper mostly belong to the series edited by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap and published by the Pāli Publication Board (Bihar Government), Nalanda, the dates of their publication and the abbreviations used are: *Dīghanikāya*—three volumes (1958)=DN; *Majjhimanikāya*—three volumes (1958)=MN; *Samyuttanikāya*—four volumes (1959)=SamN; *Anguttaranikāya* four volumes (1960)=AngN; *Mahāvagga* (1956)=MV; *Cullavagga* (1956)=CV: the other Pāli texts belong to the series published by the Pāli Text Society from London, their dates and abbreviations used are *Jātaka*—six volumes (1963)=Jāt; *Suttanipāta* (1913)=SN; *Milinda Pañha* (1880)=MilP.
2. For an analysis of the social composition of the Early Buddhist Elite see B. G. Gokhale, *Journal of Indian History*, XLIII, Pt. II, (August 1965), Pp. 391-402.



Buddha's claim too easily and many a *sutta* in the *Nikāyas* reflects the thrust and parry of the seemingly interminable arguments between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism that went on between the Fifth century and the Second century B. C.

Early Buddhism was a product of the environment of two major areas of northeastern India, Magadha and Kosala. This region was undergoing a rapid political and social transformation during the period when Early Buddhism was seeking to establish itself. Politically the tribal oligarchies were being pulverized by the advancing monarchies. The Buddha came from the world of the tribal oligarchs whose decline and imminent destruction were all too clear to him. The Brāhmaṇas, though opposed by the tribal oligarchs, had established themselves at the powerful court of the times. Socially, they had already advanced their claims of pre-eminence which ran counter to the assumed rights of the Khattiyas, the class of the tribal oligarchs. In a sense, therefore, the Early Buddhism-Brāhmanical encounter was a confrontation between two kinds of cultures stemming from differing political aspirations and social and economic claims. The present paper aims to examine the shape and content of the Brāhmanical culture as reflected in Early Buddhist literature.

As mentioned above the Brāhmaṇas were not then a caste for, endogamy, a crucial characteristic of the caste system of later times, was not yet an invariable rule in marriage. The offspring of a Khattiya man and a Brāhmaṇa woman, for instance, was socially and ritually acceptable to the Brāhmaṇas but could not be declared eligible for kingship by the Khattiyas.<sup>3</sup> But a son born of a Brāhmaṇa husband and a Khattiya wife could not legally claim a Khattiya bride or consecration as a king. In this matter, therefore, the Khattiya group seems to have advanced farther in endogamic restrictions than the Brāhmaṇas who, however, made up the distance in the succeeding centuries. Occupationally the Brāhmaṇa group had become very heterogenous. On the grounds of occupational differentiation the Pāli texts distinguish between two significant classes. One adhered strictly to the priestly vocation; the other followed a variety of non-priestly occupations.

The Brāhmaṇa group that faithfully adhered to the Vēdic tradition claimed intellectual and lineage connection with some of the great and

3. DN, I, Pp. 84-85.



ancient *isis* such as Atthaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Yamataggi, Angīrasa, Bhāradvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa and Bhagu.<sup>4</sup> They belonged to well-known ritual groups (*Sākhās*) like the *addhariyas* (*Ahhvaryu*), *tittiriyas* (*Tiittiriya*), *chandokas* (*Chāndogya*) and *bavhārijhas* (*Bahvric*).<sup>5</sup> They are described in a set manner as "repeater (of the sacred words) knowing the mystic verses, by heart, one who has mastered the Three *Vedas*, with the indices, the ritual, the phonology, and the exegesis (as a fourth), and the legends as a fifth, learned in the idioms and the grammar versed in Lokāyata sophistry, and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man".<sup>6</sup> They officiated at the performances of the great sacrifices *mahāyañña*, the *assamedha*, *purisamedha*, *sammāpāsa*, *vājapeyya* and *niraggaḷa*. From some of the detailed descriptions of these sacrifices it is evident that the institution of the sacrifice was still very much in evidence and some of the kings whom the Buddha claimed as his ardent disciples performed these sacrifices.<sup>7</sup> Every king had his own *purohita* who was supposed to be an expert in the Vedic lore and the correct performance of the ritual.<sup>8</sup> These sacrifices continued to be performed at the leading courts, in spite of the Buddhist injunctions to the contrary, until the time of Aśoka (circa 273-232 B.C.) indicates the strength of the old Vedic tradition in political circles. Inscriptions of the post-Aśokan period show that the Vedic cult continued at least for a millennium after the time of Aśoka.<sup>9</sup> These great sacrifices had essentially become a court cult which Buddhism was unable to dislodge except for short periods and in specific regions. The general assumption that Buddhism effectively killed the Vedic cult is not borne out by our evidence. On the other hand the cult created its own economic basis in the *brahmadeyya* lands to which a reference is made below.

4. MV, P. 259. DN, I, P. 91

5. DN, I, P. 200.

6. T. W. Rhys Davids (Trans), *Dialogues of the Buddha* (London, 1956), Pp. 109-110.

7. For these sacrifices see CV, P. 249, MN, II, P. 9, SamN, I, P. 75; Pasensi Kosala who claimed a special relationship with the Buddha had ordered the performance of a sacrifice involving the slaughter of hundreds of animals, SamN, I, P. 75

8. For a Buddhist view of an ideal *purohita* (well-born, learned, virtuous and wise) see DN, I, Pp. 104, 117-118.

9. Puṣyamitra Śunga (circa 150 B.C.) performed two horse-sacrifices; The early Śātavāhanas supported Vedic religion. So did the Imperial Guptas, Vākāṭakas, Cālukhyas, Pallavas, Coḷas and Rāṣtrakūtas.



The Brāhmaṇas were also in demand in the popular religious practices. These involved the worship of the various Vedic deities, the sun and the moon, Soma, Varuṇa, Iśāna, Prajāpati, Brahmā, Mahiddhi and Yama, who though denounced by the Buddha, were worshipped by a large segment of the population.<sup>10</sup> Then there were the occult rites and cults concerned with demons and prognostication in which many Brāhmaṇas claimed to be specialists. These included appeasement of evil spirit, interpretation of dreams, fortune-telling by means of deciphering the gnaw marks of rats, cure for poisons, determination of lucky sites for buildings, prognostication by means of stars and constellations and offering of various kinds of fire-oblations (*homas*).<sup>11</sup> These cults which were widespread retained their popularity in spite of the Buddhist opposition and there is no reason to believe that the Brāhmaṇas suffered in any significant way in their vocational rewards accruing from these cults even during the times when Buddhism was emerging as the dominant creed. Aśoka's reference to the *mangalas* performed by many, especially women, indicates the strength of these cults.<sup>12</sup>

Outside of these professions, linked with the supernatural, the Brāhmaṇas had spread into others of a more mundane variety. *Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka*<sup>13</sup> offers a long list of un-Brahmanical professions practised by the Brāhmaṇas. These were gleaning of medicinal herbs, driving of chariots, singing praises of the king and noblemen, running errands, common begging, selling of a variety of goods, husbandry and cattle-tending, hair dressing and shampooing. It is possible that this list is specially contrived to ridicule the Brāhmaṇas as peddlers of superstition as well as worldly goods, following the so-called low trades (*hinasippāni*) and an element of exaggeration cannot be entirely ruled out. But some items of this list also figure in other parts of the Pāli canon where there is no apparent grudge or desire to ridicule is involved. Numerous references indicate that many Brāhmaṇas were farmers who tended cattle as in the case of Kasibhāradvāja (Farmer-Bhāradvāja).<sup>14</sup>

The Pāli texts frequently mention the Brāhmaṇas in two distinct contexts, as *Brāhmaṇa-Gahapatikas* and Brāhmaṇas. The former, the

10. DN, I, Pp. 202, 205.

11. DN, I, Pp. 10-12; SamN, III, P. 239

12. See B.G Gokhale, *Asoka Maurya* (New York, 1966), p. 155.

13. Jāt, IV, Pp. 359-365.

14. SamN, I, Pp. 170-71; MilP, P. 8.



Buddhists charged, were Brāhmaṇas only in name. Some of them were very wealthy and have been described as *mahāsālas* (magnates). A stock description of enormous wealth of the Khattiyas is applied word for word in the case of the Brāhmaṇa *mahāsālas* also. They are called opulent, possessed of great wealth, including plenty of gold and silver and other articles, great quantities of food-grains and spacious mansions.<sup>15</sup> These Brāhmaṇas lived in villages called Brāhmaṇa *gāmas* in which they formed the dominant element in economic life as well as population. Some of them such as Manasākaṭa, Khāṇumata and Pañcasāla are frequently mentioned.<sup>16</sup> Magadha and Kosala seem to have had a large Brāhmaṇa population, either concentrated in these *Brāhmaṇa-gāmas* or spread through the various towns and villages. A random sampling of such Brāhmaṇa settlements reveals as many as 10 in Sāvatthi, 11 in Kosala, 2 in Campa and 6 in Rajagaha.<sup>17</sup> These are the Brāhmaṇas mentioned by name because either the Buddha encountered them in person or his disciples argued with them on various philosophical points and as such became a part of the literary tradition of early Buddhism. These must be taken as a minuscule proportion of the total Brāhmaṇa population in the homelands of Early Buddhism. It is impossible to give any estimate of the proportion of the Brāhmaṇa element in the total population in the absence of statistical evidence in our sources. But there is no doubt of their economic strength and social importance. The term *Brāhmaṇa-gāma* is translated as Brāhmaṇa-village ('Brāhmaṇville') though it cannot be assumed that the village was populated by no one else but Brāhmaṇas. But to gain that name the village must have either been dominated economically by the Brāhmaṇas or must have contained a population in which the majority were Brāhmaṇas or both. The process of the formation of such *Brāhmaṇa-gāmas* can only be conjectured. They might have begun as settlements created by Brāhmaṇa enterprise or they might have been designated by the state as areas given over to Brāhmaṇa

15. For *Brāhmaṇa-mahāsālas* see MV, P. 35, MN, II, P. 9. SamN, I, Pp. 70-73; Rhys Davids translates the term as Brāhmaṇas and *Gahapatikas* which is unwarranted for elsewhere there is a clear mention of "householder Brāhmaṇas", see T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg (Trans), *Vinaya Texts* (Delhi, 1965), I, P. 137, note

16. See DN, I, Pp. 109, 199, SamN, I, P. 113.

17. For Brāhmaṇas mentioned by the name see MN, I, Pp. 23, 52, 53 SamN, I, Pp. 81, 160, 164-166, 173-174; 177-179, 181-182.



occupation. In these villages many Brāhmaṇas had substantial land-holding, for one Brāhmaṇa is described as using 500 ploughs (*pañcamattānīnagalassaiāni*) which may not be taken quite literally though the use of up to 100 ploughs cannot be ruled out. A certain Brāhmaṇa of Rājagaha, for instance, had 14 of his bullocks lost. The Brāhmaṇas of Kosala and Magadha employed their own *dūtas* (messengers), and the Brāhmaṇa Pokkharasāti of Campā had his own *parisā* (*pariṣad*) and *amaccā* (ministers).<sup>18</sup>

Of these substantial land-holders those enjoying the *brahmadeyya* lands were the most conspicuous. Among these leading *Brāhmaṇa-mahāsālas* were Canki, Tārukka, Pokkharasāti, Jānussoṇi, Todeyya and Soṇadaṇḍa. Pokkharasāti and Jānussoṇi had *brahmadeyya* lands. The *brahmadeyya* grant is described as full of people (*sattussadam*) complete with grass and trees (*tiṇa* and *kaṭṭha*), foodgrains (*dhāṇṇa*) and a royal gift (*rājadāvam*), a *Brahma* gift which may be translated as "a most excellent gift, a royal gift, a gift given with full powers or a full gift".<sup>19</sup> The *brahmadeyya* institution is one of the most interesting developments in land-holding during the period under review and deserves to be discussed at some length. From the description, repeated in stock phrases at many places in our sources, it is clear that the tract covered hundreds of acres. It was not an empty land, uninhabited by people, a jungle area to be initially cleared by the settler. The term *sattussada* implies that it was an inhabited area comprising a population of farmers and artisans. The donee had full rights over the grant. He controlled the use of fodder and fire-wood (*tiṇa* and *kaṭṭha*), claimed proprietary rights over the produce of the farms (*sadhaññaam*) and was exempted from the payment of the usual taxes. These grants were made by kings and as Pokkharasāti states they were the results of the donee's accomplishments (*yasoladdhā amhākam bhagā*).<sup>20</sup> The donees are often described as Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedic texts (*tiṇṇam Vedānam pāragu*) and experts in the performance of the Brahmanical ritual. These grants, therefore, must have been made by the kings in recognition of the erudition and ritual expertise of the Brāhmaṇa donees.

18. *SamN*, I, Pp. 166, 171, *DN*, I, Pp. 101, 128.

19. *DN*, I, Pp. 76, 99; for translations of the technical terms see T. W. Rhys-Davids, and W. Steed (Edrs.), *Pāli Dictionary* (London), Pp. 493, 673.

20. *DN*, I, P. 102.



These *brahmadeyya* lands raise some interesting questions. The Pāli evidence suggests that the practice was as old as 550 B.C. if not older. Secondly, such grants meant alienation of land, with all the economic rights attendant thereupon to the Brāhmaṇas. It is not possible to estimate the extent of land thus alienated, though it is reasonable to assume that the extent was not insignificant. The practice of giving land gifts to Brāhmaṇas is well-recognized and highly recommended in the Brahmanical books and it was in vogue in the post-Maurya period. Thirdly, the land grants were not restricted to the Brāhmaṇas. In this context the evidence of the *Pāyāsi-Sutta* of the *Dīghanikaya* is very suggestive. Pāyāsi enjoyed a *rājadāya* and *brahmadeyya* in Setavyā from the King Pasendi Kosala. Now pāyāsi is called a *rājañña* and nowhere does the *sutta* indicate that he was an expert in Brahmanical learning and ritual. On the other hand he was a well-known sceptic and agnostic when he started his discussions with Kumāra Kassapa. The land, therefore, could not have been granted to him for his religious and ritual competence. Furthermore, he is shown as exercising administrative rights over his estate, rights such as the apprehension and punishment of criminals.<sup>21</sup>

The use of the term *brahmadeyya* in the grant of land to a *rajañña* such as Pāyāsi is unusual. It may be explained as a careless use of a technical term in the case of a grant to a *rājañña* when the term could appropriately be used only in relation to a grant to a Brāhmaṇa. But one of the meanings of the term, as given by the *Pāli Dictionary* quoted above, also implies a rent or tax-free grant of land and in the case of Pāyāsi we can only surmise that the grant was made for political and administrative services rather than religious functions. If Pasendi Kosala could transfer some of the administrative functions in the land granted to the donee Pāyāsi, could he not have done the same with similar land grants to Brāhmaṇas too? It has been assumed that the *brahmadeyya* lands in the pre-Maurya period "do not mention the abandonment of any administrative rights by the donors".<sup>22</sup> In view of the question raised above can such an assumption be completely valid? That the Brāhmaṇa donees of these *brahmadeyya* were quite capable of and prepared for

21. See DN, I, Pp 191 ff.

22. See S. R. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* (Calcutta, 1955), P. 2.



administrative duties is indicated by reference to the *dūtas*, *parisās* and *amaacās* associated with the Brāhmaṇa *mahāsālas*.<sup>23</sup> If the Brāhmaṇas had no administrative responsibilities why did they keep these *dūtas* and *amaccās*, who were obviously administrative, rather than religious functionaries? These bureaucrats associated with the Brāhmaṇa *mahāsālas* strengthen the assumption that they had administrative responsibilities and that what was true of the *brahmadeyya* to Pāyāsi may have also been equally true of the *brahmadeyya* to Brāhmaṇas such as Pokkharasāti and Jānussoṇi.

The possibility of a large-scale alienation of farmlands to Brāhmaṇas and others exempted from the usual taxes and entrusted with administrative duties cannot be ruled out entirely in the pre-Maurya period. In fact, if the Pāli evidence is at all credible, the practice was common as early as the establishment of the Bimbisārid kingdom by the middle of the sixth century B. C. If land-ownership and delegation of administrative functions be regarded as some of the decisive characteristics of feudalism, then an incipient feudalism already existed in parts of ancient India much before the rise of the Maurya empire.

It was this convergence of social, economic and political power that made the Brāhmaṇas (and others enjoying *brahmadeyya* lands) invulnerable to attacks from Early Buddhism. That many of them were much less than friendly to the Buddha and his movements is clearly indicated by the use of the derogatory terms which often characterized their encounters with the Buddha. These terms were *samaṇaka* and *muṇḍaka*, *ibbha* and *bandhupādāpacca*.<sup>24</sup> This may have been on account of the Brāhmaṇa fear that the Buddhists were attacking the very bases of Brāhmaṇa claims to special privileges namely, the validity of the Brahmanical religious and ritual ideas and practices. The admission of elements of the lower orders of society to the Buddhist *Samgha* may have also further alarmed the Brāhmaṇas who had already begun to think in terms of a hierarchical structure of society with the positions of leadership occupied by them.

The Buddhist attack on the Vedic practices at the royal courts, however, was not very effective. The Śungas, Kānvas, early Śātavāha-

23. For Brahmana *dutas* see DN, I, P 128; for *parisās* and *amaccās*, see DN, I, P 101.

24. See DN, I, P. 79.



nas, Imperial Guptas, Vākātakas, Cālukyas of Badami, Pallavas, Rāṣtrakūṭas and Coḷas were staunch supporters of the Vedic cult and many kings belonging to these dynasties are known to have performed the *Aśvamedha*, *Vājapeya*, *Rājasūya* and other Vedic sacrifices. With the exception of Aśoka and Harṣa most kings of ancient India publicly supported the Vedic cults which they may have used for political purposes. The same holds true of the popular Vedic and non-Vedic religious cults in which the Brāhmaṇas played a leading role. The history of ancient India, therefore, reveals the fact of the astonishing hold of the Brāhmaṇas on political power and religion, the challenges of non-Brahmanical movements such as Buddhism and Jainism notwithstanding. The Brāhmaṇa was far from overwhelmed by the sweep of the non-Brahmanical anti-Vedic cults in India and retained his commanding position during the larger part of the history of ancient India. Vedism in the hands of these Brāhmaṇas became a powerful instrument capable of influencing kings and their courtiers through the centuries.

Outside of the Brāhmaṇa *gahapatis* and *mahāsālas* there were other Brāhmaṇas who followed patterns of life generally associated with the *samaṇas*. The phrase *samaṇas* and Brāhmaṇas is of common occurrence and it is in this sense that Aśoka refers to the Brāhmaṇas in his inscriptions. Some of them tonsured their heads completely (*munda'pi hi idhekacce Brāhmaṇa bhavanti*).<sup>25</sup> Others were *jaṭīlas* (men of matted hair) and when Māra assumed the guise of one of these he is described as one "with a great matted topknot, clad in a whole antelope skin, aged and bent like the rafters of a roof, with wheezing breath and holding a staff of udumbara-wood".<sup>26</sup> They were also called *tāpasas* and *paribbājakas* (hermits) who retired to the forests or river banks and performed the rite of fire-worship or reflected on the mysteries of life and discussed various philosophical theories.<sup>27</sup> They may be the representatives of the *Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣadic* tradition. The Buddha secured some of his famous disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna among them, from these groups. They regularly frequented the debating halls specially constructed for

25. For the phrase *samanabrāhmaṇa* see DN, K, Pp. 7 ff; for Aśoka's use of the term Brāhmaṇas see Gokhale, *Op. cit.*, p. 152; SamN, I, P. 168

26. SamN, I, P. 117, Mrs. Rhys-Davids (Trans.), *The Book of The Kindred Sayings* (London, 1950), I, P. 147.

27. AngN, I, P. 145; SamN, I, P. 182 MV, Pp. 25 ff



the *samaṇas*, *paribbājakas* and *titthiyas* and discussed all manner of abstruse doctrines bearing on here and hereafter.<sup>28</sup> The contributions of these ex-Brāhmaṇas to the Early Buddhist movement cannot be minimized. They formed a substantial segment of the Early Buddhist elite leadership and influenced the orientation of the movement in a variety of ways, not the least among which may be the shaping of some of the Mahāyāna doctrines and the use of the Sanskrit language for literary expression.

Though the Brāhmaṇas formed a well-recognizable class there were apparent differences among them in social ranking. They claimed to belong to several well-known *gottas* (the Bharadvājas among them being the most numerous) which were ranked as high and low. Among the high *gottas* were Gotama, Moggallāna, Kaccāna, Vāsetṭha, and the low *gottas* were Kosiya and Bhāradvāja.<sup>29</sup> But the differences were also based on wealth and the type of professions pursued. We are told of Bhāradvāja Brāhmaṇas who made a living by running a shop, selling broth, and in the building trade.<sup>30</sup> Begging for a living was not unknown among some Brāhmaṇas. Such Brāhmaṇas could not claim equality with *mahāsālas* though even when they followed such "degrading" professions their pride of Brahmanhood remained undiminished.

By and large, then, the Brāhmaṇas, as the evidence from the Early Buddhist literature indicates, had emerged as a powerful social class as early as the beginning of the Sixth Century B. C. Max Weber attributes this to the nature of "a genteel literati whose magical charisma rests on 'knowledge'". Such knowledge was "magical" in content and ritualistic in form, deposited in a holy literature, written in a holy language remote from that of every day speech". They displayed pride in their education and "unshakable trust" in their special knowledge. They were the major, if not the only source, of satisfying the king's ardent desire to acquire legitimacy through ritual consecration and affiliation and their charisma made them invulnerable to heterodox attacks.<sup>31</sup> The Early Buddhists, on the other hand,

28. See *samaṇabrāhmaṇānam koṭūhalasāla* in DN, I, P. 151

29. *Pācittiya* (Nalanda, 1958), P. 11.

30. *SamN*, I. Pp 179, 181

31. See Max Weber, *The Religion of India* (Glencoe Illinois, 1958), Pp. 139-145



could claim no such charisma born of a mystical lore and ritual, both of which, it attacked. The Buddhist monk could perform no legitimizing ritual for a prince as he assumed the reins of power over a kingdom and the Buddha had specifically denounced the sectarian soteriologies as sheer waste of time, if not pernicious. Early Buddhism, therefore, was at a disadvantage in establishing a charismatic rapport with the court or secure the mystical veneration of the populace. The scales were heavily tipped against Early Buddhism in political and social relationships in spite of the fact that the Buddha claimed to be a scion of nobility and counted among his devoted votaries some of the more powerful rulers of his time. The Brāhmaṇa, in his charismatic power, was already well-entrenched at the time Early Buddhism began and the new creed could do little to damage the Brāhmaṇa position. The Buddhist rhetoric, often in the nature of diatribe, swirled like eddies round a rock which suffers a little erosion of its sharp edges but is not really dislodged by them. It has been assumed that Early Buddhism became a powerful movement in areas of northeastern India which were comparatively unaffected by Brahmanism. The Pāli evidence indicated above seems to question this assumption. From its very inception the Buddhist movement had to contend against an entrenched Brahmanism which finally overwhelmed it in the very land of its birth.







## Non-violent Non-cooperation in World History : a brief survey (up to 1900 A. D.)

BY

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Of the earliest examples which remind one of individual satyāgraha against unjust exercise of authority by government or society, the greatest ones are those of Socrates and Jesus, both of whom refused to compromise with what they considered to be wrong and paid the price with their martyrdom. A remarkable example of such non-violent non-cooperation in recent times, but without such tragic consequences, was furnished by Pope Pius IX who in protest against the territorial acquisition of Rome by Victor Emmanuel II, refused to accept the Law of Gurrantees promulgated by the kingdom of Italy on 13-5-1871. The Pope considered himself to be a prisoner and did not leave the Vatican, until the Lateran Treaty of 1929, by which the independence of the Vatican city (area: 108.7 acres) was guaranteed. Thus, after 1870, the Pope left the Vatican for the first time on July, 12, 1929. Gandhiji's life is rich with such examples of individual resistance to the unjust exercise of authority by government. There are doubtless many cases, Christian as well as others, in which individuals have sacrificed their life, non-violently, for faith or for other reasons. Groups of people or clans have also faced tyranny non-violently and have sometimes undertaken *hijrat* i.e., mass desertion of home-lands for safer Zones to escape such tyranny. In the present paper, we shall confine ourselves to the study of non-violent non-cooperation and *hijrat* of subject-people, of racial and of religious minorities, who left their homeland for unjust demands of the ruling authorities.

The study is, however, fraught with difficulties, because people who are free, have also agitated for the enlargement of their political or other rights or for the vindication of their principles, in a non-violent way, as for instance, the suffragets and non-conformists of England at the turn of the century or the women of U.S.A. of today



for equal rights with men. It is therefore possible to bring such free people fighting against their government within the Gandhian perspective of nonviolent non-cooperation, but such cases are left out from the scope of the present study. There are also cases where non-violent non-cooperation falls within the concept of political expediency, which has none of the moral grandeur of Gandhian philosophy. Indeed if we go back to past history, we shall find many such cases. Such, for instance, was the non-violent resistance of all Albigenians (Catharists of Albi)<sup>1</sup> and the Waldensians (adherents of Peter Waldo) against the oppression and corruption of the Church (1208-13), until their movement was quenched in the blood of the crusade declared by Innocent III. The *hijrat* or migration of the Pilgrim Fathers for religious persecution in their homeland and their settlement at Plymouth, their participation in the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia for Declaration of Rights and Grievances boycott of British goods after Dec 1, 1774 etc remind one of Gāndhiji's Satyagraha technique, but since it was a prelude to the War of American Independence, it was a violent departure from the Gandhian concept. The leaders of the Third Estate who played a great role in the first phase of the French Revolution under Abbe Sieyes had chalked out a non-violent course up to the Tennis Court Oath, but the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, opened the grim drama of the bloody revolution and Reign of Terror. Similarly, the technique of non-violent non-cooperation was also encouraged by Germany in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr district on 11.1.1923 by Belgian and French troops for default of coal delivery to France, Belgium and Italy. The Franco-Belgian Commission arrested the non-cooperative mine-owners and took over the mines and railways, but the German government supported the population in the policy of non-violent non-cooperation. These are no doubt examples of non-violent non-cooperation, but they have originated in the idea of political expediency.

Parliamentary non-cooperation is also not unknown to history. The Plantagenet and Stuart kings of England, the Bourbon rulers of France and Spain, the Habsburg rulers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the rulers of Poland and Prussia before Bismarck had to face it. A classical example is furnished by king Ladislas II,

1. C W Previte-Orton, A History of Europe, III, pp. 52 ff.



king of Bohemia and Hungary (1490-1516), whom the nobility brought down to his knees by cutting off effective financial aid. Trade Union movements do not also come within the purview of non-violent non-cooperation, as they work under limitations imposed by legislative acts of different countries.

The Present study is thus limited to areas, in which non-violent non-cooperation has been led against authority by non-government agencies outside Parliament and labour movements. Gandhiji's activities in this field are well-known and have not been brought within the compass of this paper, but movements on similar lines by other people may be fruitfully studied and have been discussed here. Such movements can be studied under two aspects, viz. (1) in the form of *hijrat* i. e., non-cooperation with governments by mass flight, and (2) non-violence of the brave. People coming under the second category have stood up manfully against the oppressors by facing death, if necessary.

History offers many cases of non-violent non-cooperation of both the categories, but due to paucity of data, we cannot definitely say that all of them, particularly those belonging to ancient and medieval history, were of Gandhian type. There is no doubt however that the majority of them resemble the Gandhian type or are parallel cases. Considering objective conditions prevailing in ancient times, a large number of such cases partakes of the nature of *hijrat* i. e., mass flight.

The earliest example of *hijrat* is perhaps furnished by the Joseph-clan, which was enslaved by pharaoh Rameses II of Egypt (1292-1225 B.C.). It was probably during the reign of his successor Merneptah (1225-1215 B.C.) that Moses, whose name in Egyptian means *son*, organised what was apparently a non-violent revolt of the clan in Egypt, but it had a tinge of vindictiveness,<sup>2</sup> which is absent in the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence. He led the clan to the oasis of Kadesh, but this non-violent action, born out of necessity, was a passing phenomenon in their life, because, since 1200 B. C. this clan, along with other cognate people of Canaan, had been constantly at war with others and even among themselves. They constituted the nucleus of the future kingdom of Israel,

2. Exodus, chap. 10ff.



which came into being in about 933 B.C. It seems however that in 933 B.C., the northern tribes of Palestine refused to pay taxation to Rahobam, the son of Solomon, and seceded to form a new kingdom with Jeroboam as their king. The details of this no-tax campaign are not fully described, but it seems to have been conducted in a non-violent way and the Lord advised peace to all.<sup>3</sup>

Judaism, as revealed in the Old Testament, has indeed preached non-violence, even as later scriptures of Judaism, such as Mishra, its commentary and the Talmud have done. The Jewish community with its feudal ideas and voluntary covenant was not, from a political point of view, marked by any spirit of non-violent resistance to evils and in later times, Christ was disappointed for this.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the atmosphere was generally surcharged with violence. From the 10th century B.C. to the 5th history offers hardly any example of non-violent non-cooperation or even passive resistance, until we descend on the history of ancient Rome. The Roman population was then divided into two main classes: the aristocratic Patricians and the commoner, the Plebeians. In 494 B. C., the exploited Plebeians, oppressed by debt, seceded en masse to the Sacred Mount (probably the Aventine) and the Patricians were compelled to grant some concessions before the Plebs would agree to return.

By non-violent non-cooperation practised on several other occasions during the next two centuries, the mass of Plebeians improved their hard lot. By their last secession to Janiculum in 287 B.C., the Plebeians obtained complete legal equality with the Patricians. For the next few centuries, there was almost continuous warfare in Asia, Europe and Africa. The ancient Egyptian and Assyrian empires were built on military chauvinism, and expansion of the empire, based on violence, was the keynote. The Greek Commonwealth, the Roman and Sassanid empires did not present a different pattern either and did not provide any significant example of non-violent non-cooperation on the part of the suppressed people. Perhaps a notable exception is to be made in the case of the small Christian sects who were subjected to terrible hardship during the early days of the Roman empire, particularly during the reigns of Marcus

3. The first Book of kings, chap. 12

4. Luke, XIII, 34 and XXIII, 28-30



Aurelius Antoninus (161-180 AD) and Decius (249-51). The persecution led, in many cases, to migrations of the oppressed Christian people, but this ceased in the entire West in 306, but continued in the East till 313 AD. Towards the end of 312 Constantine I., the Roman emperor, himself adopted the Christian faith. Under the Neo-Persian empire of the Sassanids, the Christian, had however a hard lot to bear. The unstable rule of Yezdigird the Wicked (399-420) and his son Varahran V (420-40) made the lot of the Christians unbearable and they, as a sect, left the Sassanid empire for a shelter under Rome. This is a type of *hijrat*, of which the earliest example was provided by the Joseph clan and his followers. The flight of the prophet of Islam from Mecca to Medina is also another example, but it did not involve mass migration of a large section of the people. In the eighth century AD (711-15), the Christian community of Spain had also to undertake, in a similar way, mass-flight to the mountainous regions of the North and West to escape the brutality of the advancing Muslim conquerors. In the opposite corner of Europe, in the Eastern Roman Empire, during the reign of Ramanus III (1028-34), the Patriarchate was permitted to persecute the Monophysites of Syria, whereupon thousands of these hapless people fled to the neighbouring Muslim countries. For about 100 years thereafter, European history has hardly any noteworthy parallel to offer regarding non-violent resistance of the brave to the oppression of the autocratic rulers. In the 12th century AD, during the reign of Stephen Nemanya (1168-96), who founded the kingdom of Servia proper, the Bogomils tribe was subjected to cruel oppression and the tribe was forced to flee across the frontier to the State of Bosnia, then ruled over by the powerful ruler called Kutin (d.1204). These examples of *hijrat* are typical illustrations of arrogant bigotry in religious matters, which have not, unfortunately, died down even now.

Even when this barbaric persecution was proceeding apace during the middle ages and even in the modern period, many sects offered their resistance against the unjust exercise of power by the ruling authorities. Such, for instance, was the case in regard to the Lollards, Manicheans, Quaker Society of the Doukhobors of Russia, etc, who stood up against all sorts of violence, whether on the individual or mass-plane. Indeed, this stream of philosophy enriched down the centuries by individual writers and preachers like Erasmus, Etienne de La Boetie, Thoreau, Tolstoy, to name



only the prominent ones, or by sects like the Mennonites, Brownists, Dunkers, etc., who did not cooperate with State activities, as these were basically violent, fed the ocean of pure life based on non-violence. In fact, the Quaker State of Pennsylvania existed for about 75 years without any military establishment, until it was over-whelmed by non-quaker immigrants.

Let us now revert to India, where similar movements had started. Dr. R. C. Majumdar<sup>5</sup> has referred to an instance of civil disobedience in medieval Bengal about 400 years back during the time of Sri Caitanyadeva (b.1488). The city of Navadvipa, where Caitanyadeva lived, was ruled by a bigoted Muslim Qazi, who assaulted religious parties performing *nāme Samkirtan* and threatened polluting the caste. The disheartened people were inspired by Caitanyadeva to defy the orders of the Qazi and marched to his house. The menacing attitude of the people unnerved the Quazi who took to flight and the people did a lot of damage to his house. This is an example of successful civil disobedience, though not of the type advocated by Gandhiji, as it had elements of violence. Later, Indian history offers many cases of civil disobedience. Those between 1765 and 1857 have been brought together within the compass of a competent work<sup>6</sup> and some of them fall into the category of *hijrat*. This *hijrat* was provoked by the rapaciousness of English supervisors working under the revenue administration of the East India Company. Middleton wrote from Dacca on May, 18, 1771: "The ryots unable to answer the unlicenced demands which the officers of the government were continually making upon them were driven to the necessity of deserting the country, by which means a considerable quantity of land lies waste and uncultivated".<sup>7</sup> High assessment of land revenue was also the cause of the peasants often fleeing away from their hearth and home. During Major Hammay's black rule in Bihar during 1778-81, the levy of taxes was made in so oppressive way involving imprisonment and scourgings that many hapless rioters, as also rajas and ancient chiefs "were driven to take refuge in emigration or compelled to be exposed to the slave market"<sup>8</sup> Over-assess-

5. *Journ. Ind. Hist.* XLIV (1966-) pp-347 ff.

6. S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Disturbances in India 1765-1857*.

7. Fourth Report of the Committee of Secretary, 1773. p-115, quoted by S. B. Chandrahari.

8. S. B. Choudhuri, *Oc.* pp. 57-58.



ments and rapaciousness of government employees thus compelled many people of Bengal to leave their ancestral homes. S. B. Chaudhuri writes, "They sold everything, even their wives and children to obtain sustenance and when even this failed they left their homes and hearths and fled to forest. It has been estimated that in course of 1816 between five and six thousand houses had been deserted."

Non-violent non-cooperation was also undertaken on a mass-scale by the people of Benares in 1810-11, when Regulation XV of 1810 enforced a house-tax in the towns of Benares, Bengal and Bihar. A non-tax campaign was launched. Meetings were held, hartal was observed and there was cease-work all around. Mill writes<sup>7a</sup> from personal knowledge: "Everything was at stand: the dead bodies were cast unceremoniously into the river, because there was none to perform the obsequial rites; and the very thieves refrained from the exercise of their vocation.....the people deserting the city in a body; and taking up their station half-way between Benares and Secrole....." The people submitted a petition to government and Mill wrote,<sup>7b</sup> "None were armed even with a stick. The manner and custom in this country from time immemorial is this: that, whenever any act affecting every one generally is committed by government, the poor etc.....all for sake their families and their homes, expose themselves to the inclemency of the seasons.....and make known their affliction and distress that the government which is more considerate than our parents may.....extend indulgence to its subjects." The struggle of the people of Benares was crowned with success.

In another part of Asia, a *hijrat* was undertaken by the Christian population. Minh-Mang, emperor of Annam (1820-40) was a strict confucian and admirer of things of Chinese. Unable to bear the tyranny, streams of Christian people undertook large-scale migration during his reign and those of his successors (1840-47).

In Bengal, another successful non-violent non-cooperation movement was launched by peasants against the indigo-planters about 100 years back (1859-62). About 20 lakh indigo cultivators of five districts of Bengal framed a Union under the leadership of Bisnu-charan Biswas and Digambar Biswas and defied the continued oppression.

7a. Quoted by S. B. Choudhury, op. cit., p. 79.

7b. Ibid, p. 81.



ssion—of the indigo-planters, supported by English magistrates and Police officials. Another important person who threw himself heart and soul into the fray was Ramrutton Mullick<sup>9</sup> of Jessore who came to be known to the people as the “Indigo plant destroyer” and “the Nana of Bengal”.<sup>10</sup>

Indigo-plantation had been introduced into India in the 16th century and it thrived ever since on the terrible economic exploitation of the peasants. In 1859, there were about 500 indigo-planters in Lower Bengal.<sup>11</sup> According to the evidence produced before the indigo Commission appointed under Act XI of 1860, estimates for the cost per bigha varied between Rs. 2-3-0 and Rs. 3-13-4, but the ryot was paid, on an average, only Rs. 2-8-0 per bigha. Every kind of legal and illegal means (including signature of the ryot on blank stamped paper) was adopted to grab the best lands of the peasants for indigo cultivation, leaving the ryots to starve or live in semi-starved condition. The distress may be imagined from the fact that, in the district of Nadia alone, two-thirds of the district were virtually under the occupation of the indigo-planters.<sup>12</sup>

Even as early as Aug. 6, 1828, the Court of Directors at the India House wrote to Bentinck that they were receiving reports of plunder, but the legal machinery was not functioning effectively. The complaints of the peasants were not attended to for months together, while the planters' petitions were immediately acted upon.<sup>13</sup> There is no doubt that the indigo-industry of lower Bengal rested upon coercion and intimidation.

The starved or semi-starved peasants were thus terribly oppressed and disturbances started from the district of Barasat in the autumn of 1859 and spread to other districts and, by the spring of 1860, the disturbances became general. In many places, leagues were formed against planters' oppression, the Mussalmans sanctifying the procedure by kissing the Quran. On May 19, 1860, the *Hindu patriot*, under the able editorship of Haris Candra Mukherji, thundered. Wanting in power, wealth, political knowledge and even leadership:

9. The names are in the anglicised spelling of the last century.

10. *Hindu Patriot*, 24. 3. 1860.

11. Kling, *The Blue Mutiny*, p. 2f.

12. *Englishman* (Calcutta) Jan 24, 1860. Letter from Forling.

13. *Parliamentary papers* 1831-32 VIII pp. 374-77 quoted by Kling.



"peasantry of Bengal have brought about a revolution inferior in magnitude and importance to none that has happened in the social history of any other country.....with the government against them, the law against them, the tribunals against them, the press against them, have achieved a success of which the benefits will reach all orders and the most distant generations of our countrymen. And all this they have done by sheer force of virtue, patience, perseverances and fortitude, without committing a single crime——almost a single act of violence." The tenor of the statement is corroborated by no less a person than the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, J. P. Grant. While passing through Kushtia towards the end of August 1860, he found the river-banks of the Kumar and the Kaligana thronged by thousands of men, women, and children, "whose whole prayer was for an order of the government that they should not cultivate indigo."<sup>14</sup> Grant was impressed by their organisation and capacity for combined and simultaneous action. Canning also wrote to Wood that the demonstration had".....caused me more anxiety than I have had since the days of Delhi..... A people who can do this, and do it soberly and intelligently, may be weak and *unresistful* individually, but as a mass they cannot be dealt with too carefully..... From that day, I felt that a shot fired in anger or fear by one foolish planter might put every factory in Lower Bengal in flames."<sup>15</sup>

Act XI dealing with indigo-contrats lapsed in 1860. The planters then vigorously utilised Act X of 1859 to increase rent of the ryots abnormally to compel them to saw indigo. The ryots, in addition to legal means, undertook social boycott. Kling writes,<sup>16</sup> "Ryots frequently coerced a factory servant into leaving his employers by shopping all the services which an Indian needed. The barber refused to serve him; the villagers refused to share the *hookaas* with him; the bazar-sellers cut off his supply of food and clothing; he was not invited to weddings or funerals, the marriage arrangers would not serve him, and he might even be put out of caste by his caste elders. Many were thereby forced into deserting their factories and the planters complained of the shortage of staff. Other factory servants, finding no longer profitable business, used the social persecution of the villagers as an excuse to leave their employers. Villagers also co-opefated."

14. Buckland Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors I, p. 192

15. Quoted by' Kling, *op. cit.*, p. 169

16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.



in refusing to bid at auction for decreed property.....  
Hindu and Muslim ryots united in the struggle and members of both communities are listed side by side as leaders of combinations against the factories."

The final stage of the drama commenced with the trial of Father Long in 1861 in connexion with the translation and publication of the Bengali drama *Nīladarpaṇa* by Dīnabandhu Mitra. The trial was a farce. The Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court, sitting in Full Bench, sentenced Long to a fine of Rs. 1000/- and one month in the Common Jail. Long's fine was however paid by Kali Prasanna Sinha, a wealthy Calcutta Zamindar, while Radhakanta Deb presented Long with an address expressing gratitude of the community. The industry finally collapsed in 1862.

In this agitation of the people against the tyranny of Indigo-planters, the people had used every sort of tactics open to an unarmed people, viz petition, mass demonstration, non-cooperation and social boycott. It was a sort of non-violent non-cooperation directed against the indigo-planters of Bengal in the best Gandhian spirit, though there were minor aberrations here and there.

With these we close our review of the major cases of non-violent non-cooperation in history up to the end of the 19th century. From what has been stated above, it would appear that only a few cases conform to the rigorous standard of non-violent non-cooperation set forth by Gandhiji. It may be admitted that Gandhiji did not perhaps show a new path to humanity but enriched and elaborated the technique according to the traditions of Indian history and culture and applied it on a scale undreamt of in all past history. In former times, when religious bigotry of the ruling authorities reigned supreme, *hijrat* was the order of the day, but, unfortunately these have not entirely died down even in the current century as for instance, in the case of non-tax movement in Bardoli, Jambusar and Borsad in India in 1930, when thousands of people fled to Baroda. The story of *hijrat* from Hungary, Tibet and East Pakistan, of which the last one is the greatest in history and is still continuing, illustrates how political or religious minorities are still persecuted. Gandhiji did not generally approve of non-violent non-cooperation in its *hijrat* grab, but always advocated the non-violent non-cooperation of the brave. From that point of view, and considering the cases cited above and those of Gandhiji, it would appear that non-violent non-cooperation of the brave had rather a congenial field in India.



## The Symbolism of Gaja Lakshmi

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Śrī or Lakshmi is the well known consort of Viṣṇu along with Bhū (Bhūdēvi or the earth goddess). She is regarded as the symbol or auspicious mark (*lakshman*) of beauty, fortune, wealth, plenty, etc. She is supposed to have arisen out of the 'great churning of the ocean' (*samudra muthana*). According to another account she floated on sea during creation. Though she is not worshipped as an independent deity in South India like Durga she is frequently portrayed today as Gaja Lakshmi on the lintels of doorways of residential houses of both the Saivites and the Vaishnavites and is counted as one among several forms of Lakshmi, eg., Mahā Lakshmi, Vīra Lakshmi, Dhana Lakshmi, Dhānya Lakshmi, etc. In the ancient period, however, she appears to have enjoyed a more important and independent status, somewhat analogous to Śakti or the Mother Goddess and to have been well known to Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist faiths.

Perhaps the earliest Hindu version of Gaja Lakshmi in bas relief occurs on the pillars of caves 1 and 2 in Badāmi assigned to the 6th century A. D. on the basis of the inscription in cave 3 dated in A. D. 578. A panel on the front face of a pillar corbel in cave 1 shows the goddess seated cross-legged on a lotus and attended by *Gandharvas* on the two sides holding water pots in their hands. At the top corners are two elephants emptying the contents of two water pots held by their trunks over the head of the goddess, whose right hand holds a bud while the left is placed on her lap. The panel in cave 2 shows the goddess seated not cross-legged but with the legs folded and the two feet coming close to each other and both her palms placed on her thighs. She has no attendants. Two elephants standing on either side at ground level lift up two water pots with their trunks simultaneously and empty the contents, while above them, i. e., at the top corners, are two more elephants, the heads alone being shown.<sup>1</sup>

1. R. D. Banerji, *Bas Reliefs of Badami*, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 25, 1928). Pls. V and X.



The two well known reliefs of Gaja Lakshmi in the Varāha *maṇṭapa* and the Ādi Varāha cave temple at Mahābalipuram (seventh century A. D.) portray the goddess as follows. Lakshmi is seated on a drum-like seat placed on a full-blown lotus and holds lotus buds in her hands. She wears large *patrakuṇḍalas*, *grāivēyakas*, *channavīra* and *makuṭa* but no apparel. Two female attendants stand on either side wearing *patrakuṇḍalas*, *grāivēyakas* and head gears, which approximate to *makuṭas*. The two attendants, who stand close to the goddess, keep water pots in their hands while two elephants, whose heads alone are shown in a majestic fashion in the top corners of the panels, raise them by their trunks and empty them over the head of the goddess alternately. Each panel shows one elephant's trunk extended and holding the pot inverted over the head of the goddess while the other elephant is shown as grasping the pot held by the attendant. Two other attendants seem ready to carry back the empty pots and fetch them filled with water.

A deeply cut panel of Gaja Lakshmi greets the visitor, who approaches cave XVI of Ellora, the famous rock-cut temple of Kailasa (second half of the eighth century). The lower part of the panel graphically portrays a lotus pond full of leaves, buds and flowers. Goddess Lakshmi is seated cross-legged on a lotus pedestal holding buds in her two hands. The hands and face are almost obliterated. It is quite possible that this is the result of vandalism and not natural causes. Beneath the lotus seat and supporting it, as it were, are two *Nāga* figures, a feature commonly met with in contemporary seated Buddha figures. The goddess wears a crown. The peculiarity here is that she has no attendants. Instead, on each side, is a pair of elephants. The smaller of the two holds a pot by its trunk and is shown below while above is a slightly larger elephant lifting up a water pot and emptying its contents on the head of the goddess. The two elephants in the upper row are simultaneously emptying the two pots over the head of Lakshmi, while both the elephants below hold the pots with their trunks lowered. Just above the twin inverted pots is carved an umbrella or parasol with the fragment of a handle. On either side of the umbrella are semi-divine beings witnessing the scene of the divine bath, a *gandharva* couple and a woman in exultation. This row of *gandharvas* etc., recalls the divine and semi-divine beings (*Aṣṭadīkṣālakas*, etc.) portrayed in a row at the top of large panels in the Brahmanical caves of Ellora as witnessing some exploit of Siva.



More freely than Buddhism, Jainism had drawn upon the Hindu pantheon to fashion its own gods and goddesses but the Gaja Lakshmi motif is unknown to the Jaina texts though Śrī or Lakshmi is known. A rare specimen of Gaja Lakshmi, however, is to be found among the sculptures of the Udayagiri—Khandagiri caves in Orissa, once an important Jaina centre, say from the second century B. C. onwards.<sup>2</sup> Like the Buddhist representations this is more symbolic, bringing out the main elements, *viz.*, the lotuses, the goddess and the twin elephants both with raised trunks. In the panel, which occurs above the *dvāra* of cave 3, Khandagiri, the goddess is shown standing on a lotus, in a lotus pond full of flowers and buds, and holding two long stalks by her side by passing her arms round them so that two large lotuses in full bloom appear on either side of her head. A big lotus with spread-out petals provides a fitting background to her head. A pair of lesser stalks bearing buds appearing on either side at a lower level, two blossoming flowers at the bottom, one on either side, an elephant again on each side standing on a lotus, with raised trunk, holding up the water pot, and a bird pecking at a seed pouch appearing on either side of the arch of the tympanum complete this marvellous study in symmetry.

The Gaja Lakshmi symbolism seems to have appeared in the Buddhist sculptures earlier than in the Brahmanical. They appear to be contemporary with the Jaina examples but are certainly more numerous. The Buddhist reliefs occur on the railing pillars or gateways (*tōraṇas*) of Sānchi *stūpa* No. 2 and the *stupas* of Bhārhut and Bōdhgaya (*c.* 100-50 B. C.) as well as on those of Sānchi *stūpa* No. 1 or the Great *stūpa* (*c.* 50-1 B. C), the latter showing more advanced technique. A railing pillar of Sānchi *stūpa* No. 2 shows Gaja Lakshmi, at the top of a lotus scroll, standing on a lotus with palms joined together in adoration. On two more lotuses at the level of her hip stand two elephants simultaneously raising with their trunks two water pots over her. There are two more lotuses on the two sides of the pots. At the lower level the lotus creeper shows respectively a pair of antelopes and lions and a couple from bottom to top.<sup>3</sup> A medallion on the railing of the *stūpa* at Bhārhut shows Gaja Lakshmi seated on a lotus coming out of a pot with two eleph-

<sup>2</sup> Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, (Department of Archaeology, New Delhi, 1960), Pl. XIV [A], Pp. 48-49.

<sup>3</sup> H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* [New York, 1955], Vol. 2, Pl. 27.



ants on the two sides with trunks raised and holding water pots. The goddess is seated with her legs folded but not crossed and her hands in *anjali*. The next medallion shows a *vrksha-chaitya* (bodhi tree) flanked by a man and a woman, who are obviously devotees as one is holding a garland.<sup>4</sup> A rail medallion of the *stūpa* at Bōdhgaya shows Gaja Lakshmi, corpulent in form and with an elaborate hair-do, standing on a lotus and holding a bud in her right hand. On the two sides are two buds and flowers on long stalks and on them stand two elephants in the act of bathing the goddess holding, as usual, the water pots with their trunks.<sup>5</sup>

There are several reliefs of Gaja Lakshmi in the 'Grerat *Stupa*' or *stūpa* No. 1 at Sānchi. These mostly occur on the square sections between the three architraves appearing over each of the main stems of the two pillars of the *tōranas* or gateways. Both the front panels of the square sections on the proper right of the northern gateway represent Gaja Lakshmi being bathed by elephants. In the top panel she stands on a lotus. The two elephants appear at the top and stand over lotuses, projected upward by creepers, with their trunks raised over her head. The lower panel shows Lakshmi seated on a huge hemispherical lotus with her left leg folded and kept on the lotus seat while the right folded leg is *pralambapāda*. The right hand holds a lotus while the left rests on the left lap. Here too the elephants appear halfway up and stand on full lotuses. The corresponding two panels on the square sections over the other pillar of the gateway show *dharma cakras*, which stand for the Buddha.<sup>6</sup> The association of a symbol of the Buddha with Gaja Lakshmi is to be noted.

Of the four square panels, which appear behind these, the two lower ones show Gaja Lakshmi seated on the lotus in the manner afore mentioned and bathed by elephants while the upper ones show the pleasing *pūrṇa ghaṭa* or *bhadra kalasa* with lotus leaves and flowers in full bloom springing out of it.<sup>7</sup> This symbol of the vase of plenty stands for Lakshmi.

4. E. B. Havell, *The Ideals of Indian Art* [John Murray, London, 1920], Pl. 1 to 4 p. 16.

5. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 2, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, [Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953], Pl. XVII, Fig. 39.

6. Zimmer, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 7.

7. *Ibid.*, Pl. 12.



Of the two square panels between the three architraves of the east gateway (front view) the top one on the proper right and the lower one on the proper left show Gaja Lakshmi seated on lotuses with the right leg folded in both cases. In both she is seated on a wide lotus shooting up from a *pūrṇa ghaṭa*, which is shown independently in the above examples. The panel on the proper right shows the two elephants pouring down water from two pots simultaneously raised over the head of the goddess and the falling water looks like a tall crown in the relief. The corresponding top panel on the opposite side shows a partly damaged view of a *vrksha-caitya* or *bodhi* tree with a pedestal below.<sup>8</sup>

Of the two square panels in front on the proper right of the west gate the lower one shows Gaja Lakshmi standing on a lotus with her left hand on her hip. The two elephants appear above, on lotuses, and have their trunks raised simultaneously. The opposite panel shows the *bodhi* tree with the seat of the Buddha below.<sup>9</sup>

Finally the top architrave of the south gate (front view) has in its centre a square panel showing Gaja Lakshmi standing on a full blown lotus with an elephant on either side standing on lotuses.<sup>10</sup>

In the Buddhist symbolism of the Hinayana period the figure of Gaja Lakshmi is sometimes found in association with the *bodhi* tree or some other symbol of the Buddha. Examples on the Bhārhut *stūpa* and the Great *Stūpa* at Sānchi were considered above. Perhaps for this reason or even without it, the figure of the lady on the lotus, bathed by elephants, has been interpreted by a few early western writers as the scene of the lustration of Māyādevi following the Buddha's nativity. Some would regard it as the purificatory bath of the new born Buddha, though the child is not shown in the panel. According to the Buddhist scriptures the new born Buddha was bathed by two *nāgas*, Nanda and Upānanda, and not by two elephants. The nativity scene proper is that of Māyādevi holding the branch of the *śāla* tree in the Lumbini-*vana*, which bent low to come within her grasp to support her during parturition. M. Foucher first interpreted the familiar Gaja Lakshmi figure occurring in the reliefs of the Sānchi

8. *Ibid*, Pl. 18.

9. *Ibid*, Pl. 21.

10 *Ibid*, Pl. 24. According to Marshall [A Guide to Sanchi, P. 47], this must have been originally the back view of the south gate.



stupa No. 1 as that of Māyādēvi and called it the scene of nativity or the Buddhist Madonna.<sup>11</sup> John Marshall accepted it in his *Guide to Sanchi*. Zimmer too refers to Māyādēvi while speaking about these Sanchi sculptures. All these writers, however, were quite aware of the older symbolism of Gaja Lakshmi.<sup>12</sup>

It is now beyond dispute that early Buddhism adopted the older symbols to its immediate purposes. This has been elaborately discussed by A. K. Coomarswami in his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*.<sup>13</sup> In this work he has shown, in his own words "by reference to chapter and verse of canonical texts, both Buddhist and pre-Buddhist.....that Buddhist symbolism, far from being an isolated language, is proper to the one great tradition which has persisted from the Vedic or pre-Vedic period until now."<sup>14</sup> Thus the lotus throne, the *dharma cakra*, the fiery pillar, *etc.*, which stood for the Buddha could be "traced back beyond their first representation in the Buddhist iconography through the aniconic period of the Brahmanical Vedas, even into the Rig Vedic period itself....." The Gaja Lakshmi symbolism too belongs to this category. Sri-Lakshmi of the Brahmana-Upanishad period "is gladdened by elephants.....bathed by elephant kings, with golden vessels (*Gajēndrair.....snāpita hēma kumbhair*)."<sup>15</sup> She is the primordial goddess responsible for life, earth and water, the source and support of all existence. "So she is represented either aniconically by the lotus, as Padma, springing from the brimming vessel (*Pūrṇa ghaṭa*) of the waters, or in human form upon the lotus, as Padmavāsini, and then typically as receiving a lustral bath of *sōma* bearing rains downpoured from the skies by the elephants of the quarters." Both these representations are found, it was seen above, on the architraves of the northern gateway of the Sanchi *stūpa*. Coomaraswamy argued that if the Buddha were regarded not as the man Siddhārtha but as Universal Man then none could have been the Mother other than Māya, "the magical ground or subs-

11. M. Foucher, *Beginnings of the Buddhist Art*, 1917 A. K. Coomaraswamy, [see below], n. 43.

12. John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, [Government Press, Calcutta; 1918], pp. 42 and 47. Zimmer, *vide infra*, Vol. I, P. 164.

13. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* [Harvard University Press, 1935].

14. *Ibid.* P. 59.

15. *Ibid.* n. 41.



tance of existence fertilized by heavenly showers." The scene of Gaja Lakshmi as adopted by the Buddhists then should rightly stand for the Buddha conception and not nativity nor lustration.

Gaja Lakshmi is one of the earliest devices frequently found on the tribal coins and coins of local rulers found in Kausāmbi, Ayōdhaya and Ujjain and assigned to the period B. C. 300 to B. C. 100. It was so popular that several foreign rulers of North West India adopted it on their coins.<sup>16</sup> In his *Catalogue or Indian Coins* J. Allan described the device as Abhishēka Lakshmi. The device is also found repeated on some seals of the Gupta period. In a few cases is the additional feature of a pair of *gaṇas* emptying money bags in front of Gaja Lakshmi.<sup>17</sup> This indicates a greater familiarity with coined money and the natural association of Sri-Lakshmi with wealth in addition to fertility.

Against the foregoing discussion it is difficult to understand the following statement regarding the evolution of Gaja Lakshmi attributed to A. K. Coomaraswamy in a recent edition: ".....about the second or third century (A. D.) the old Buddhist representation of Nativīty (Māyādēvi with elephants) is being taken over into Hindu (Puranic) iconography as Gaja Lakshmi, while the development of Ganesa from Jambala (the mongoose of the latter becoming the rat of the former) may be still later."<sup>18</sup> Does the error lie in editing?

This brief sketch of the symbolism of Gaja Lakshmi may be concluded by noting a few more examples found in Hindu sculptures of later periods. The device is found sculptured on the pillars and lintels of doorways of the temples of the Early Chalukyas of Vātāpi, e.g., the shrine doorway beside temple No. 9 (Cousens) at Aihole shows Gaja Lakshmi, seated and holding buds in her two hands being bathed by two elephants whose trunks are simultaneously raised up.<sup>19</sup> A relief of the goddess seated in *pralambapada* is found on the lintel of the doorway of the Tārakabrahma Temple at Alampur, near

16. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* [Calcutta University; 1956], P. 110. See also J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, Pp. 131, 133, 149, 187, 190-1 and 256.

17. J. N. Banerjea, *Op. cit.*, Pp. 194-95.

18. *Introduction to Indian Art* by A. K. Coomaraswamy, Edited by Mulk Raj Anand, [Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1956], P. 31.

19. Henry Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture* [Calcutta, 1926], Pl. XIV.



Kurnool. The Kumārabrahma temple at the same place has, on one of the pillars of its porch, a relief of the goddess standing on the lotus. Gaja Lakshmi frequently occurs on the lintels of the *dvāras* of the *garbhagrihas* of several later Chalukyan temples of Kalyani, e.g., the Kāśivīsvēśvara temple at Lakkuṇḍi, the Mahādēva temple at Ittagi, the temple of Aruvattukhambada at Bankāpur, etc.<sup>20</sup> The motif ceased to be popular in the temples of the Tamil country in the post-Pallava period.

A peculiar adaptation of the Buddhist *triratna* or *nandipāda* symbol for Gaja Lakshmi is interesting. It appears as a sculptured piece of about the ninth century at Kavērippākkam near Kānchipuram and has been adopted as the emblem of the Archaeological Society of South India. Of the three upper prongs the central one is converted into a head (of Lakshmi) and the two side ones remain like stumps of arms while the two lower prongs stand for the folded legs (of the seated goddess.) Two elephant heads and trunks are shown at the top alternately raising the water pot and lowering it. The goddess is seated on a lotus. To her left is *sankha* and to her right is a small lotus flower. The figure without hands and feet is said to show that wealth has to be earned by hard work and that the goddess will not come and offer it to anyone as she has no hands to give nor feet to walk.<sup>21</sup>

20. *Ibid.*, Pls. LXVII, CVI and XCII.

21. *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, issues from 1956 and later: the emblem and its explanation



## Two interesting Sun Images from Nachna

BY

M. C. JOSHI, NEW DELHI

Already famous for the Pārvati temple of the Gupta period, Nachna (District Panna) in Madhya Pradesh is quite rich in antiquarian remains of both ancient and medieval times. Among a number of sculptures lying in and around this locality, two images of the Sun god (Sūrya) are of special interest on account of their peculiar iconographic traits. One of them is noticed at Ganj—a village two miles west of Nachna and the other at Nachna proper, suggesting the tradition of the Sun worship in this area.

### *Sun image from Ganj<sup>1</sup>*

Placed on a mound against a longish stone on the Saleha-Nachna road, this sculpture (pl. 1) is under worship as Kāla-Bhairava. It is carved on a stone slab (about 3 ft. by 2 ft. by 4 inches) of light reddish hue. From the artistic standpoint it cannot be classed as an object of merit, for its sculptural delineation is somewhat stylized and rigid, but the face bears an expression indicating a touch of seriousness.

Sitting on his haunches, the two-armed god (Sun) wears a kind of head-dress comprising short and curly hair, having a central protuberance, resembling the conventional *uṣṇīṣa* of the anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha. He holds in his left hand a mace or club, and a longish scimitar inside a sheath with a grooved hilt in the right. His apparel consists of a long cloak (*vāravāṇa*), an ornate *grāiveyaka* (necklace), a flattish *hāra* (garland) hanging formally on the body, *avyaṅga* (waist-girdle) with a central circular buckle, buskined boots, *kuṇḍalas* (ear-rings), simple *valayas* (armlets) and *kankanas* (wristlets). A thin line of moustache with twisted ends which marks the upper lip of this Sūrya figure is a somewhat

1. I am grateful to Mr. R. Sengupta, Archaeological Engineer, for drawing my attention to this image a few years back.



unusual feature. Just above the plane of his seat at its lower corners he is flanked on either side by a tiny figure of a stylized horse suggestive of the mythological *ratha* (chariot) of Sūrya. At the top on the proper left corner is in relief a small figure of *vidyādhara* carrying in his hands garland of flowers or some other type of offering.

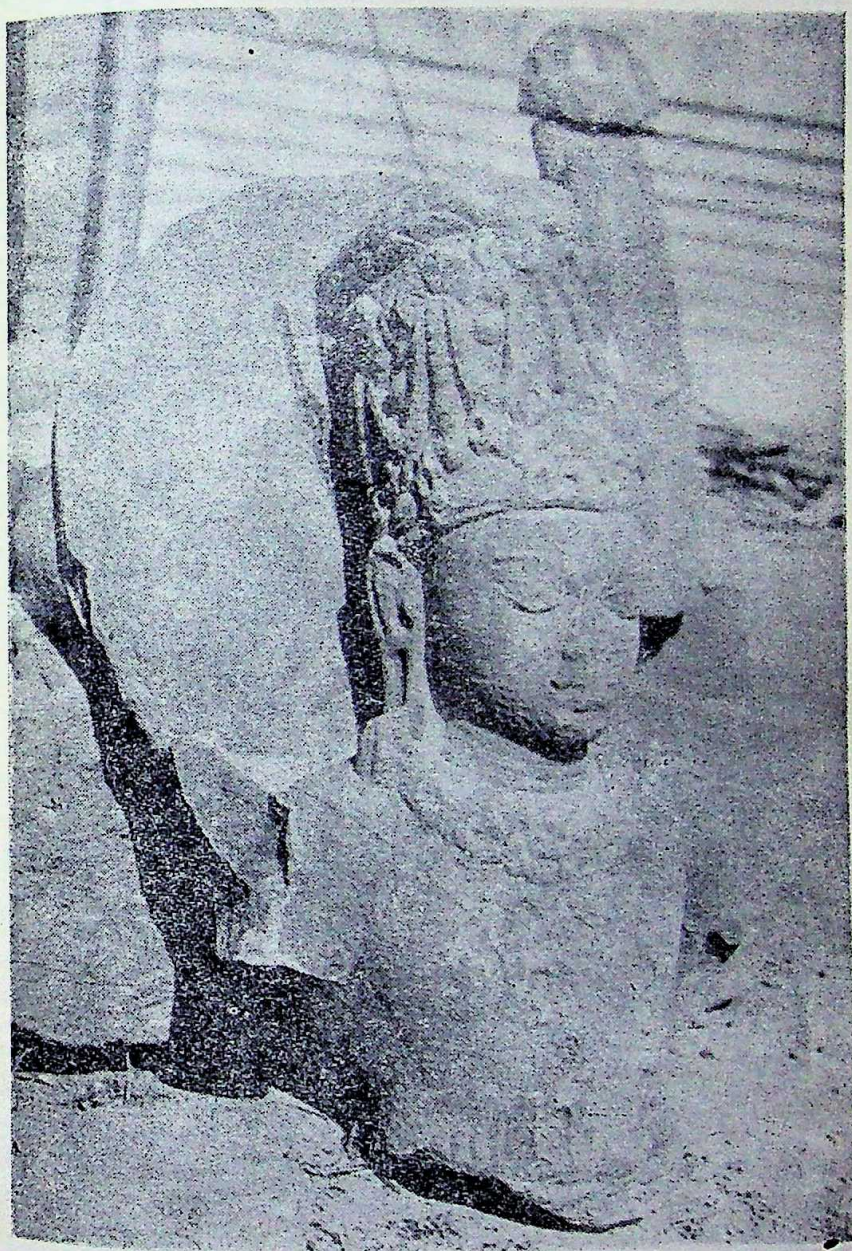
Sculpturally, many qualities of Kushan school of Mathura can be noticed on this image; moreover, it bears a striking resemblance with a Kushan sculpture, found at Jaitpur (Mathura) a few years ago which was identified by Krishna Deva<sup>2</sup> as a royal Kushan portrait. However, certain other features of this icon of Sūrya point to a later development both in the artistic and iconographic treatments. Though the *udichya-vesa* (northerner's dress), face with moustaches, and the sword as Sūrya's weapon<sup>3</sup> are reminiscent of earlier foreign derivation, in certain respects this image bears a definite Indian imprint. The conspicuous absence of lotus flowers in the hands and crown on the head of Sūrya is indeed intriguing, for, this is something contrary to the Brāhmaṇical texts on iconography, wherein *kirīṭa* or *mukūṭa* and lotus flower are amongst the essential attributes of the Sun god.<sup>4</sup>

The unique character of the relief is represented by the *keśaṣṭīṣa* (head-dress composed of hair in ringlets) and mace as one of the weapons of Sūrya. In all other Sun images of the Indian type we find his head decked either with a crown or some sort of an ornate cap; the present icon, therefore, appears to be a significant exception, and that too not without an ideological background.

One is tempted to call this relief a syncretic icon combining the Buddha and Sūrya, observing the style of hair and features of solar

2. A. Ghosh [ed.], *Indian Archaeology 1961-62—A Review* [New Delhi, 1964] p. 104 and plate CLII, D.
3. A number of Sūrya images from Mathura belonging to the Kuṣāṇ period carry dagger or sword as an attribute. See, Vasudeva S. Agarwala, *A catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Museum*, [Lucknow, 1951] pp. 66 ff. A sword is also held by the 6th century A. D. Sūrya figure at Bamiyan, cf. A. Godard, *Antiquities Bouddhiques de Bamiyan* [Paris, 1928] plate XXII.
4. cf. *Vibhāṇaḥ svakararuhe vāhubhyāṁ pañkaje mukūṭadhārī | kuṇḍala-bhūṣita vadanāḥ pralambha-hārī vijayagauritaḥ //* *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Chap. 57, verse 47.







iconography; but one can very well doubt such identification for, neither the typical *mudrās* associated with the anthropomorphic renderings of the Buddha nor their facial traits can be noticed here in the face with moustaches and ear-rings. Hence the *uṣṇīṣa* alone cannot be considered to be an indication of the composite icon.

It may be pointed out in this connection that this type of *keśoṣṇīṣa* is by no means confined only to the figures of the Buddha as it also occurs in the sculptural representations of Jaina *tirthaṅkaras* and the *Saiva-avatāra* Lakulīṣa. Moreover, similar *uṣṇīṣa* embellishes the head of the Śiva, who appears before Pārvatī as a *brahmaçārin*, in one of the reliefs at Badami.<sup>5</sup> Another sculptured scene from the same place depicting the Trivikrama form of Viṣṇu shows Bali's priest, sage Śukra with hair style of the same pattern.<sup>6</sup> Thus it is evident from the foregoing that the *kēśōṣṇīṣa* is connected with ascetics and projects their character as accomplished *yōgins* invested with supreme knowledge. In the sculpture in question too the *kēśōṣṇīṣa* probably denotes the possession of supreme knowledge by Sūrya:<sup>7</sup> and this remarkable change in the hair-dress seems to be a deliberate attempt by the Sauras (Indian Śakas or the Maga-brāhmaṇas) to Hinduize the Iranian solar concept, for, in almost all the Kushan Sun images the god is depicted only in the form of mortal without any external manifestations of superhuman qualities, befitting the highest deity. Such modifications were brought about with a view to representing the Sūrya as the omnipresent and omnipotent god worthy of being worshipped by *yōgins*, mortals and celestial beings, in accordance with the Hindu concept of a supreme deity. The fact such changes in the divine concept or Sūrya were set forth, may be affirmed from the famous Mandasof inscription of Kumaragupta I and Bandhuvarman, wherein the Sun has been invoked thus:

'May that Sun protect all that is adored by the multitude of celestial beings for this very existence, and by the *siddhas* for the attainment of supernatural powers, (and) by the ascetics, (yogins) entirely given over to abstract meditation (and) having mundane desires well under control, for the final liberation

<sup>5</sup> R. D. Banerji, *Bas Reliefs of Badami*. Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 29 [Calcutta, 1928], plats IV a.

<sup>6</sup> R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, plate IX a.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Vasudeva S. Agrawala *Indian Art* [Varanasi, 1965], p. 256.







of soul, and with devotion by sages practising strict penances for acquiring the power of inflicting curses and granting favours, and (the God) who is the cause of destruction and commencing of the universe'.<sup>8</sup>

The mace held by Sūrya also seems to be of some importance; it is regarded commonly as a weapon of Viṣṇu; but this icon does not show any connection with that god, for the lotus flowers indicating Sūrya's close relation with Viṣṇu are absent here. Hence this object in the hand of Sūrya has to be explained differently. The *gadā* (mace or club) is also an attribute of Sāmba, the son of Lord Kṛṣṇa, and tradition<sup>9</sup> ascribes to him the credit of introducing the Iranian form of Sun worship to India. Further the sword and mace are the emblems of temporal (*iha-laukika*) authority representing power and justice. The present image thus combines both the material and spiritual aspects within it and seems to represent the composite form of Sāmba (mortal) and Sūrya (divinity) termed as Sāmbāditya. Possibly the icons of this type were manufactured with a view to popularizing the Hinduized East-Iranian mode of Sun-worship; it is also evident from the occurrence of a Vidyādhara figure at the top.

Iconographically this relief appears to belong to an age of transition. Most of its features, as already stated, are quite akin to the Mathura images of the Kuṣāṇ period. However the stiff delineation and conventionalism with some degree of homeliness indicating the degeneration of the artistic tradition in this case suggests a later date for this sculpture than those assignable to the mature phase of Kuṣāṇ art at Mathura. Perhaps it was carved by some local sculptor who attempted to follow the Mathura idiom in the medium available to him locally. On these considerations we are inclined to ascribe it to a period between the latter part of third century and the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

8. [Yo vṛittyart'a]-mupāsyate sura-ga-jai-[-ssiddhaisca] siddhyarthibhiḥ  
Dhyānaikāgra-parairvidheya-viṣṇuimokṣārthibhīryogibhiḥ  
Bhaktiā-tīvra-tapodhanaisca munibhis-śāpa-prasāda-kṣmai  
Heturyo-jagataḥ-kṣayābhayudayayohpāyatat sa vo bhāskaraha

cf. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Second Edition, [Calcutta, 1965], p. 300

9. Sāmbhaḥ sūrya pratisthām cha kārayāmāsa tatvavit Chapt. 177. verse 51, *Vārāha-purāṇa*; also see, R. C. Hazra, *Studies in Upapurāṇas* Vol. 1 [Calcutta 1958], pp. 40-41.



*Sun image from Nachna*

The other relief now lying with certain other sculptures within the compound of the Pārvatī, was found on the western bank of the ancient large tank near the village. In highly damaged state the extant portion (1 ft. 6 ins. height) of this icon only represents the upper half of the original sculpture (a bust with broken arms). Therefore, the attributes of the Sun in this case cannot be ascertained.

In this representation (pl.II) Sūrya wears a beautiful *kiriṭa* studded with gems and pearls, *kuṇḍālas*, *grāiveyaka* with a pendant and richly carved armour (*kavaca*) covering the chest over a heavy *vāravāṇa* with a belt or *abhyaṅga*. The halo behind the head is plain except for the two lines marking the edge. The principal marks of identification here are traces of cloak and the armour. The delineation of eyes and eye brows shows formality and conventionalism to a certain degree, but the general expression is not unpleasant, though not perfectly serene. However, a significant aspect of this relief can be observed in the well-trimmed and short woolly beard of Sūrya covering the chin and lower part of the cheeks with the horizontally shaven ends and upper lips without any moustaches—a feature decidedly non-Indian in character, for the gods in Brāhmaṇical mythology, with the exception of Brahmā or Agni, are supposed to be youthful in their early adolescence.

Though rare, we are familiar with a few bearded Sūrya images, and one of them is from Mathura and the other from Khair Khaneh (Afghanistan). In both these examples the beard is fully depicted, but the Nachna icon shows a new fashion of wearing beard possibly of West Asian or Sasanian origin. But other features, including the ornaments, etc., seem to be of Indian derivation. It is, therefore, clear that the Sūrya figure in question represents some kind of fashion of Indian and foreign ideas in regard to the solar concept; and it is quite likely that this sculpture was modelled by the Indians of Iranian descent or the Maga Brāhmaṇas, who were being considered to be the most befitting priests for the Sun god in the 5th century A.D. Stylistically the image can also be ascribed to about the same period i.e., the 5th or the 6th century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

10. I am highly indebted to Messrs. R. Sengupta, Archaeological Engineer and H. Sircar, Assistant Editor, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists for their valuable suggestions.







## India's Problems in the Articles of S. S. Shashkov

BY

N. P. VERMA,  
PATNA

The Russian press had been taking interest in India and her problems since the very first years of its existence in the beginning of the 18th century. This interest gradually deepened: the journals of the late 18th century, and especially of the 19th century, contain considerable material on the history, culture and religions of India<sup>1</sup>. The Russian revolutionary democrats V. G. Belinsky, A. E. Herzen, N. G. Chernyshevsky and N. A. Dobrolyubov not only acquainted the Russian readers with the ancient Indian culture but also endeavoured to rouse their interest in the numerous problems of India. They generally sympathised with enslaved and oppressed peoples. Dobrolyubov wrote a special article on the people's uprising of 1857-59 supporting the rebels. The history of colonial countries, including that of India, enabled them to make a comparative study of the living conditions of the Russian people suffering under tsarist despotism.

One of the followers of the revolutionary democrats, who contributed to the development of progressive social thought in Russia in the seventies of the 19th century, was the historian and publicist Serafim Serafimovich Shashkov (1841-1882)<sup>2</sup>. His life

1. See, A. V. Zapadov, "Indiya v russkoy literature i zhurnalistike XVIII stoletiya", *Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSSR*, vol. XV, no. 2, Moscow, 1956; and E. P. Prokhorov, "Problemy Indii v russkoy pechati 40-tykh godov XIX veka"; *Vestnik MGU*, 1959, No. 1.
2. S. S. Shashkov was born and brought up in the family of a poor priest. He studied in the Irkutsk seminary and then in the Kazan Theological Academy. Having become interested in history he left the academy and entered the Petersburg University. He was not interested in metaphysical questions; social, economic and political problems troubled his mind, and he tried to understand and solve them with all his energy. At the very height of his



and activities, particularly his works relating to India, have so far received little attention. Although he suffered from poverty and illness he wrote more than a thousand articles, surveys and reviews on diverse subjects, the most outstanding of which related to history. The running theme of his articles was a critical study of social backwardness, despotism and evils of contemporary life. In one of his letters he wrote, "I have always served the cause of truth and freedom"<sup>3</sup>. "The peculiarity of his talent consisted in that vital parallelism which he could find and create between remote historical events and contemporary life in Russia.....He was always able to find the new spirit, could discover and establish the guiding parallel, could infuse new life into the obsolete and extract from it a lesson for the present."<sup>4</sup>

S. S. Shashkov was a regular contributor to the literary-political journal *Delo*, which was published in St Petersburg from 1866 to 1888 and was one of the most progressive organs of its time.

The sixties and seventies of the 19th century were a turning point in Russian history. The defeat of Russia in the Crimean war revealed her social, economic and political backwardness. The abolition of serfdom in 1861 and subsequent reforms could not solve the basic agrarian problems. Peasant disturbances continued, and they directly influenced the development of revolutionary movements. The period saw the growth of capitalism and the formation of an industrial proletariat. The progressive press continued to raise its voice against the survivals of serfdom and growing capitalist exploitation. The whole movement of the seventies was led mainly by the Narodniks, who wanted to destroy the existing economic and political system and believed that Russia could by-pass the capitalist stage of development and go over directly to socialism with the help of peasant communes.

creative effort he was stricken with paralysis, and for almost 8 years he continued to work lying on a sick-bed. Throughout these years of physical suffering and deprivation he preserved his youthful freshness and vitality of thought. It is surprising that despite the insufficient source-material and the absence of any living contact with the surrounding life, he could work so tirelessly and keep pace with the times.

3. "Nekrolog S. S. Shashkova", *Delo*, 1882, No. 9, p. 51.

4. "S. S. Shashkov (biograficheskii ocherk)", *Delo*, 1882, No. 10, p. 8.



The journal *Delo* called for reorganisation of the existing political order, for the destruction of survivals of serfdom. It also advocated economic progress in Russia, propagated materialism, defended the interests of the general mass of the people and adduced examples from the liberation movements of other peoples. Consequently the journal was put under strict censorship from the very beginning.

In some of his articles published in *Delo* Shashkov discussed various Indian problems and evinced great sympathy for the enslaved Indians, especially for the oppressed sections of the Indian society. The names of some of his articles will give an idea of the subjects covered by him. These are: "Istorichiskie sud" by Zhenshchiny"<sup>5</sup> (Historical fate of woman), "Khronika zhenskovo dela"<sup>6</sup> (Chronicle of female affairs), "Razvitie pervobytnoy kultury"<sup>7</sup> (Development of primitive culture)" "Ocherki pervobytnoy zhizni i mysli"<sup>8</sup> (Essays on primitive life and thought), and "Virozhdenie Voztoka"<sup>9</sup> (Degeneration of the East). Historism\* was inseparably linked with his writings on social themes. Reviewing the history of India from ancient times, he points out the contradiction between the greatness of ancient India and the decline of contemporary Indian civilization. He notes the ever-deepening division of society into castes, despotism of the feudal lords and nobles, the reactionary role of religion and of the Brahmin-priests. and the appearance of laws relegating woman to a subordinate position in society.<sup>10</sup>

Shashkov's article "Industan i anglichane"<sup>11</sup> (Hindustan and the English) takes particular notice of the Indian problems arising out of the British colonial rule. He subjects the British colonial

5 *Delo*, 1869, No. 10, pp. 1-57; No. 11, pp. 1-45.

6 *Ibid.*, 1872, No. 9; pp. 119-142.

7 *Ibid.*, 1876, No. 11, pp. 65-88; No. 12, pp. 69-104.

8 *Ibid.*, 1877, No. 1, pp. 141-179, No. 2, pp. 186-212; No. 7, pp. 1-35.

9 *Ibid.*, 1878, No. 1, pp. 73-109; No. 2; pp. 65-97.

10. In these articles Shashkov raises some important problems connected with the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history. They call for special examination in a separate article-

\* Historism applies an approach to phenomena as products of definite historical development, which considers how they arose, developed, and attained their present state.

11. *Delo.*, 1873, No. 1, pp. 86-125; No. 2, pp. 84-110.



policy to a close scrutiny and presents a devastating critique of the postulates and practices of their rule in India. He writes, "The English are proudly calling themselves civilizers of the world.... On the other hand, impartial history tells us how these 'enlightened navigators', gradually penetrating into all corners of the world, used all their intellect, all their means of civilization for the exploitation of countries, for the personal advantage of their ruling class."<sup>12</sup> In his opinion the entire policy of Burke and Pitt the Elder was designed to establish the might and greatness of England at the cost of other peoples. "Read Macaulay, especially his monographs on Clive and Warren Hastings, and you will find that this talented historian is filled with the same national self-interest. He is ready to justify any kind of despotism, all possible crimes of persons like Hastings, because they brought benefits to England, i. e., to its ancestral and moneyed aristocracy."<sup>13</sup>

The more farsighted politicians of England writes Shashkov however, realised that ruthless exploitation and unending tyranny can ultimately lead to that stage when nobody will remain to be exploited, because the oppressed will either be destroyed or will liberate themselves from their oppressors. "The lesson given by America definitely changed their policy towards the colonies with a predominantly English population. The English have given them freedom of self-government to the extent that the latter need not secede from the parent state..... But so far as the colonies not inhabited by Europeans are concerned for example, India,..... the English are still pursuing the same old policy of robbery and fraud."<sup>14</sup>

Shashkov takes up major socio-economic problems of India and examines them critically. He draws attention to the agrarian system of colonial India and to the miserable condition of the peasantry because similar problems agitated the progressive circles of Russian society. Strong criticism of the English agrarian policy in India was in a veiled manner directed against tsarism and the Russian landlords.

Investigating the land-reform policy of the English colonizers, Shashkov concludes that the British rule worsened the condition

12. Ibid., No. 1, p. 86.

13. Ibid., p. 87.

14. Ibid.



of the peasantry. "In 1793 about 30,000,000 inhabitants of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, with one stroke of the pen were deprived of the lands which they and their ancestors owned."<sup>15</sup> Even in South India, the author remarks, where the rural commune to a large extent continued to exist, the English organised robbery of the people, giving land to rich peasants and to those who did not till it.

Pointing out the fatal consequences of the Zamindari system Shashkov writes that landlords live in big cities, never visit their estates, and ravage the peasantry through their agents. Constant crop-failures were one of the consequences of the new system of Zemindari: Shashkov not only confirms this but also cites figures to show how frequently famines occurred in Bengal and Orissa. He is aware of the numerous exactions, apart from the rent, to which the farmer was subjected by the landlord. Not only this, the latter could evict him from the land any time he willed.

The conditions of the numerous landless peasants, Shashkov adds, are worse still and their number is gradually on the increase. Millions of them work in the field as hired-workers and live under constant fear of death by starvation. "All these people are extremely poor, half-naked, and the majority of them homeless. They work as pack animals and receive for it very poor wages."<sup>16</sup>

How Shashkov links up the condition of the general masses to the British colonial rule can be clearly understood from the following quotation; "The people have bad food, live in poor apartments, the cattle are so weak that in many places two bullocks cannot pull a plough... The English are boasting that they have constructed the great Indian canals, blazed new trails of communication, cut through the country with railway-lines, however, the resulting increase in export of Indian raw-materials and, in particular, of bread affected the general mass in a most disastrous manner."<sup>17</sup>

He also refers to the suffering of the people from constant epidemic and endemic diseases. He thinks that the main causes of it were neglect of the country economically,

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., No. 2, p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 89.



poverty of the people and religious festivals and pilgrimages. What is remarkable is the fact that Shashkov is not ignorant that these diseases mainly affected the lower sections of the people.

Shashkov is equally critical of the system of English administration in India. He underlines the fact that it virtually denied every right to the local population and set up a type of arbitrary and predatory despotism. "Perfidy and unscrupulousness became the fundamental principles of administration of India under Clive and after him."<sup>18</sup>

He denounces the English judicial system as well. In his view it worked as an instrument for the ravage and exploitation of India by the British. He writes that Indians avoided law-courts because they were too costly, slow and unjust, and English laws, in the majority of cases, went against Indian customs and concepts.

The transfer of power from the East India Company to the British government also attracts Shashkov's attention. In his opinion the despotic and oppressive nature of the British rule in India continued unchanged even after the transfer. The end of the Company's rule was not at all a turning-point for India as the ruling circles of England paraded it to be. "The abolition of the Company monopoly", he writes, "brought gains only to the English bourgeoisie. The administration did not change its old character; authority continued to rest upon armed strength; trade exploitation was intensified; as before taxes continued to increase; contempt of the government towards the former remained unaltered, and India retained the character of the quitrent to the commercial-industrial classes of Great Britain."<sup>19</sup>

According to Shashkov the transfer of power, instead of bringing any relief to the people, in fact increased their sufferings. Some of the taxes raised considerably the prices of consumer goods. In this connection he mentions the tax on salt. "In Bengal, salt, properly speaking, costs about 6 koneks, but the tax on it makes up 2 roubles and 62 koneks. The people, as a result of this, consume very little salt, and this has a harmful effect on the well-being of the whole population."<sup>20</sup>

18. Ibid., No. 1, p. 100.

19. Ibid. p. 125

20. Ibid., No. 2, p. 85



He brings fresh insights into his discussion of trade and development of industries in India during British rule. He explains that the English capitalists endeavoured to reduce the Indians to the position of their suppliers of raw-materials and purchasers of finished goods manufactured in England from the same Indian raw-materials. "The Indian gave the English a pound of cotton for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  koneks and got it back in a processed form from English factories for 45-50 koneks. The processing of cheap raw-materials and the high prices of English textiles ruined India no less than the land-reform."<sup>21</sup>

He points out that before English rule Indian hand-made products, especially textiles, were famous throughout the world, and that about half of the population was engaged in the manufacture of fabrics. The English, he writes, mined local handicrafts which gave employment to millions of people. But they imposed heavy taxes on all tools of production, and their systematic destruction of industrial activities in India placed the country at the absolute mercy of English factory-owners.

Shashkov however, writing at the beginning of the seventies, did not have at his disposal the necessary data which showed that in the sixties, despite the policy of the British rulers, the national textile industry was expanding.

Shashkov was also aware of the liberation struggle of the people of India. He stresses the popular character of the revolt of 1857-59, and focusses attention on the joint struggle of the Hindus and the Muslims against the English conquerors. "The revolt was drowned in the blood of the insurgents, but this only deepened the hatred of the natives for the victors."<sup>22</sup> He similarly writes about the Wahabi movement and characterises it as democratic. "They are waging war against mosques and landlords, both Muslim and Hindu. Professing the complete equality of men and coming mainly from the lower classes, they entertain the most extreme aspiration."<sup>23</sup>

Shashkov hoped that India would develop her national culture along a new path by assimilating the achievements of western civilization, and forecast that "in more or less distant future independence of India from the English seems to be inevitable."<sup>24</sup>

21. Ibid, p. 93.

22. Ibid, p. 99.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p. 100.



He tells us that under the influence of European civilization and thought progressive movements had already begun in the beginning of the 19th century, and in this connection he writes about the life and activities of Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore. Shashkov, however, failed to notice that all these social workers, though ardently interested in social and religious reform and attracted by European civilization, at the same time took inspiration from the ancient Indian philosophic ideals and drew the the attention of the people to the past glory of India.

In his article Shashkov tries to show that although the policies of the English ruling circles in India were self-seeking, the bourgeois civilization of England, despite its mercenary colonizing motives, unwillingly spread among them now ideas which prepared the ground for the future renaissance of India. He rightly mentions that with the exception of a few, the English did not wish to spread the European system of education in India. But the Hindus, he emphasises, soon realised the importance of western education, which caused a lot of worry to those Englishmen who wanted to perpetuate British dominance over India.

Thus, we find that Shashkov bitterly criticises the British regime in India, and convincingly demonstrates its fatal consequence for the general mass of the people. He writes with much sympathy about the liberation struggle and condemns the savage reprisals perpetrated on the Indian rebels. He is confident that Indians would never reconcile themselves to British rule and believed that repression would only intensify their contempt for their European conquerors. But he did not have a clear idea of how Indians were to achieve their freedom. He pinned too much hope on the influence of progressive ideas which were penetrating India from Europe. He held that to achieve independence one has first to become 'civilized'.

In his studies Shashkov relied mainly on English source-material. All these secondary sources supported British colonialism. He had not visited India nor was he acquainted with the Indian point of view. It is nevertheless creditable on his part that he presented a brilliant expose of the real nature of the English colonial policy in India. It is all the more creditable that he realised that India would ultimately become independent, and in this forecast he was among the first.



## Significance of the Three Stone Inscriptions at the Assam State Museum : Gauhati

BY

DR. P. C. CHOUDHURY, M. A., Ph. D., (LONDON),

*Gauhati.*

Legends there are centring round hills or blocks of stone; but they themselves hardly tell a tale. For instance, the scattered blocks of stone at Urvaśī (Gauhati) and Umācal (Kāmākhyā) or the pillars at Badgangā (Nowgong District), Tezpur of the king Harjara Varman, Kāṇāi-Varaśī (North Gauhati) and at Gachtal (Nowgong District) and many others have not told doubtful stories. The archaeologists and the historians have found inscribed there on genuine historical material bearing testimony to the evolutionary and revolutionary aspects of our civilisation. Not only that, they are found to have recorded valuable source material of our national heritage. I am going to examine here three stone inscriptions of a similar nature, now preserved at the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. Two of them occur on the joint images of *Hari-Hara* which were collected a few years ago from the Tea Garden of Deopani within the District of Sibsagar, Assam. Sri Bibhuti Pasani, a research scholar on old Assamese script discovered the said inscriptions a few days ago and brought them to my notice. The bigger one measuring 67 × 34 × 18 C. M. contains in its English transliteration the following text in correct Sanskrit.

*Namaḥ mahārājādhirājāḥ Śrī | Jīvarā-rājye | guruḥ Kumārāv-  
adhi<sup>1</sup> svadharmāvipanna<sup>2</sup>—siddha—tapasvikiyaḥ sutaḥ | ādaunāma—  
śaṅkara—Nārāyaṇa—kīrtanaḥ | Balāhīti<sup>3</sup> nāmakaḥ śailātena<sup>4</sup> likhi-  
taḥ<sup>5</sup> ||*

1. Kumādhavaai in the original text.
2. Sadhanāvīpanā in the original text.
3. Balāhīdi in the original text.
4. Śailātai in the original text.
5. Likhidāḥ in the original text.



*Meaning* : In the Kingdom of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jīvarā this image of *Hari-Hara* was, after the performance of *Nāma-Kīrtana* of *Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa*, was given to the *Guru* who was the son of the sage, who was steadfast in his own religion from his childhood. The engraver was one Balāhi.

Palaeographically the inscription in *Brāhmī* Script may be placed not later than the 8th century A. D. The use of *Prākṛit* words in the inscription is to be noted. Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jīvarā may be taken as one of the two last reigning kings, hitherto unknown,<sup>6</sup> belonging to the family of Śālastambha. Now, from chronological standpoint he may be supposed to have reigned after Balavarman II. As such, the inscription may be considered invaluable for recording important historical material and showing the evolution of Assamese characters direct from *Brāhmī*

The other inscription in *Brāhmī* characters on the image of *Hari-Hara*, measuring 35 × 20 × 5 C. M., has in its English transliteration the following text in correct Sanskrit.

*Namaḥ svasti mahārājādhirājaḥ<sup>7</sup> Śrī Diglekha-varma-rajye | Kākhyaputrāya<sup>8</sup> Śataharernāmnā<sup>9</sup> Hari-Hara-pratimā datteti<sup>10</sup> ||*

*Meaning* : Mahārājādhirāja Diglekha Varman donated to one Kākhyā's son within his kingdom this image of *Hari-Hara* after enchanting or performing one hundred obeisance in the name of *Hari*.

Palaeographically this stone inscription as well may be placed during the 8th century A. D. But, we have here comparatively lesser number of *Prākṛit* words. It is probable that this Diglekha Varman was the successor of Jīvarā, of the family of Śālastambha. If that can be accepted, we have in these two inscriptions from Deopani the historical material on the two, hitherto unknown, successors of the king Balavarman II. Moreover, the inscription, while on the one hand, proves the antiquity of vai-

6. See P. C. Choudhury, *History of Civilisation of the people of Assam to the 7th Century A. D.*, 2nd Edn., p. 218.

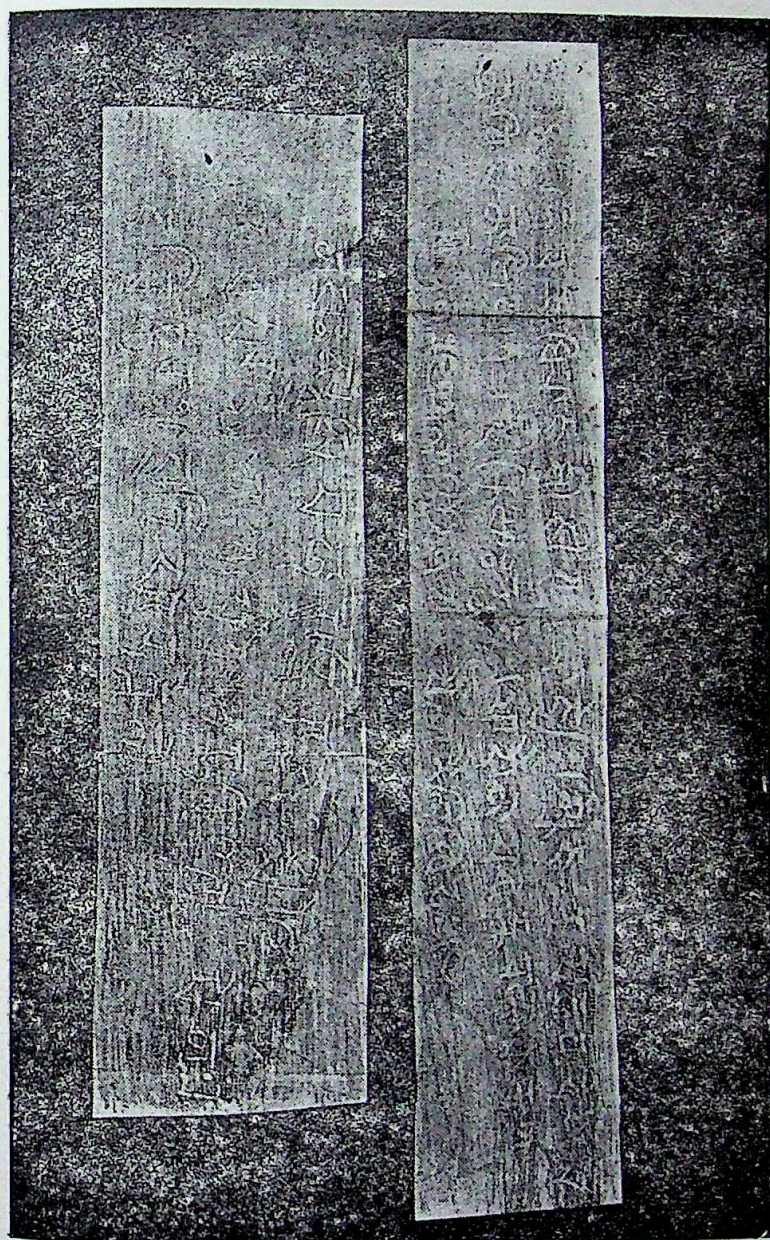
7. *Mahārājādhirāja* in the original text.

8. *Kākhyāputre* in the original text.

9. *Śataharirnāmena* in the original text.

10. *Datteti* in the original text.











ṣnavism, on the other bears testimony to the worship of *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* in an equal degree. What is of utmost importance, the inscription has recorded the *nāmakīrtana* of *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* at that remote time. For all these reasons, both the inscriptions may be taken to have demonstrated the antiquity of the cultural heritage of the Assamese people. Not only that, many other archaeological finds have come to our notice from the said Tea Garden of Deopani indicating that this place was at one time during the pre-Ahoms days a noted cantre of Assamese culture. We believe, archaeological excavations will lend support to our views.

The third stone inscription was discovered a few years ago by the labourers working for laying the foundation of the Textile Institute, and the spot is just contiguous to the present archaeological site at Ambari (Gauhati).

As most of the characters in mixed Brāhmi, Devanāgarī and old Assamese are worn out and illegible, it is with much difficulty that we have been able to read the inscribed lines. They bear close resemblance to the few characters found inscribed on an image of *Viṣṇu* and that of *Agni*, recently discovered from the present Ambari site, along with the other remains of archaeological importance. The credit of partially deciphering the present inscription involving painstaking labour goes to one research scholar on Assamese script Sri Bibhuti Pachani. I assisted him a little in his laborious task. The English transliteration of the text of the inscription in Assamese prose runs as follows:—

*Āditya sama Śrī Samudra Pāla Rajye | Prabala Sabāsika Satra  
Saguṇa Kriyā<sup>11</sup> | Sannyāsīn<sup>12</sup> Bole Dāna Puṇyan Saja | Yogīhaṭī<sup>13</sup> |  
Śaka<sup>14</sup> Iśa bāṇa cakra | Muḍha bhanati*

*Meaning:* Samudra Pāla who was like the Sun God had this Satra establishment within his jurisdiction, in which rituals were performed and was attached to the royal residence, the inmates of the satra being the *yogīs* or *siddhas*, residing at a particular spot

11. *Kriyā* in the original text.

12. *Sannyāsīn* in the original text.

13. *Yogīhaṭī* in the original text.

14. *Śaka* in the original text.



called *Yāgīhātī* (just like the present *Kevalīyāhātīs* of Vaiṣṇava Satras). The *Sannyāsīns* (*siddhas*) say that piety accrues from *dāna*. The inscription is dated *Saka* 1154 (A.D. 1232 and was composed by one Muḍha (possibly the name of the composer is not given, but he addresses himself in a Vaiṣṇava manner as ignorant). Variant reading of certain words in the inscription may not be ruled out; even so, it has its rare monumental value and deserves to be well protected and preserved.

The inscription is invaluable for more than one reason. The mention of *satra* and *hātī*, which under neo-Vaisnavism constituted a part and parcel of their system is very significant. The belief that these institutions were based on the Buddhist system finds confirmation from this inscription.<sup>15</sup> More over, it is for the first time that we find in this inscription the earliest specimen of Assamese prose literature with slight influence of *Pāli* and *Prākṛit* rather *Kāmarūpī Prākṛit*. What is of utmost significance, as this inscribed stone was dug out from the vicinity of the present archaeological site at Ambari, it throws evidently a flood of light on the chronology or the date to which at least the brick structure, the icons and some other finds discovered there in may be ascribed and that the said structure represents nothing but the remains of a religious establishment which by nature and affiliation was of the Tāntric-Buddhist type, patronised by the later Pāla rulers of Kāmarūpa. The *Ketekibārī Satra*, though a purely Vaiṣṇava institution, on the bank of the Dighalī Pukhurī, established under the patronage of the late Ahom rulers,<sup>16</sup> perhaps bears a legacy of this old *Satra* establishment.

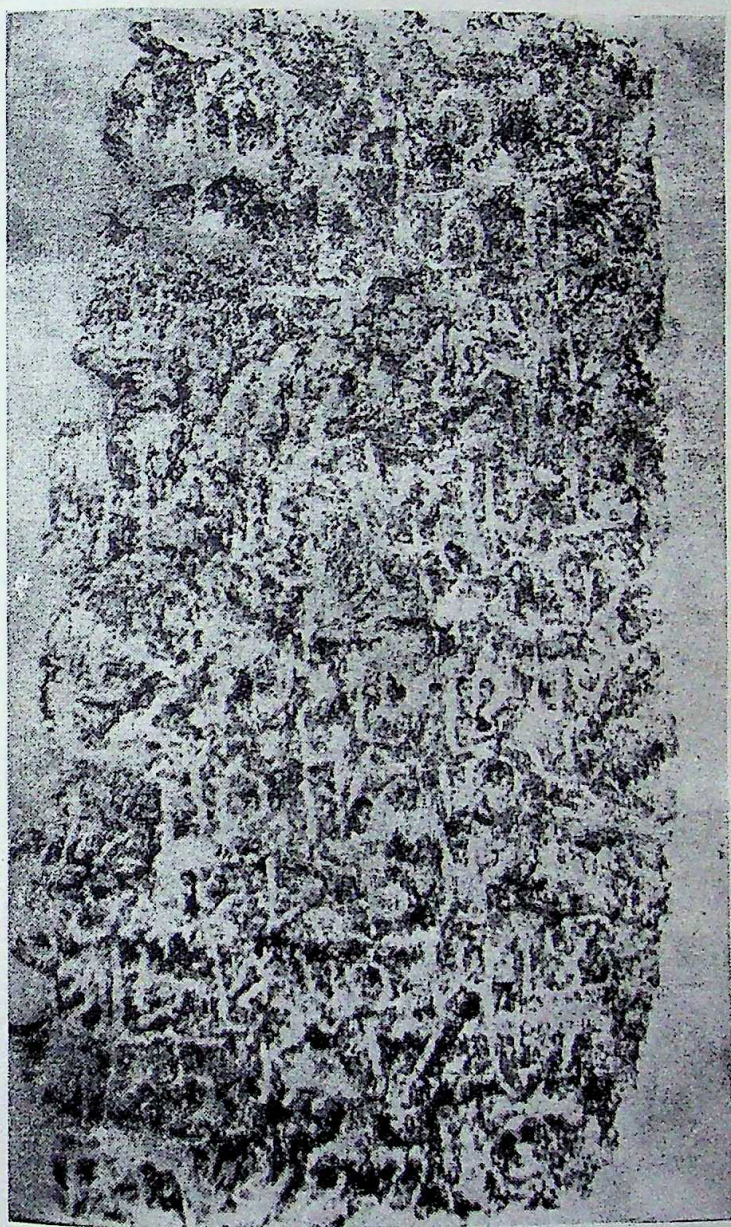
And who was this Samudra Pāla? The available records, so far discovered; do not throw light on this mighty and righteous king who, in establishing a religious institution, followed only the footsteps of the other rulers of the Pāla line. It has so far been held that the Pāla rule in Kāmarūpa ended by A. D. 1138 with Jayapāla, known from the Śilimpur Grant,<sup>17</sup> who was the successor of

15. See *History of Civilisation of the People of Assam to the 12th Century A. D.* 2nd Edn., p. 413; also S. C. Goswami, *I. H. Q.*, III, Pp. 747 f.

16. Dr. P. C. Choudhury, *Assam Tribune*, 30th August '69.

17. R. G. Basak, *E. I.*, XIII, Pp. 289-93.











Dharmapāla There is nothing to doubt that this Samudrapāla was one of the successors of Jayapāla, though not his immediate successor on chronological ground. The inscription, therefore, shows that the Pāla rule in Kāmarūpa continued for about one century more i. e. up to the middle of the 13th century after Jayapāla, and it has controverted my own views, expressed elsewhere on the dissolution of the Pāla Kingdom.<sup>18</sup>

The archaeologists and those engaged in the study of the subject may be expected to find a clue to the mystery behind the present closely linked up finds not only at Ambari but also of an wider area at Gauhati, encircling atleast the Ugratārā Temple in the east and the Baptist Mission establishment in the west with the centre at the Judge's Field. Bearing in mind the rare importance of this stone inscription which might be declared as of national importance and for that matter of the present archaeological site at Ambari the Central Department of Archaeology should spare no time in coming forward to excavate the site as that of the Judge's Field where also the other day some finds have by chance been dug out.

18. Dr. P. C. Choudhury, *History of Civilisation of the People of Assam to the 12th Century A. D.*, 2nd Edn., Pp. 246 f.







## Attitudes of the British And American Missionaries Towards the Growth of English Education in India in the 1st three quarters of the 19th Century

BY

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*Ranchi*

In the eighteenth century, India was in a way intellectually stagnant. She had not been touched by the new scientific spirit which was so rapidly transforming the West. The tradition of learning lingered only in the village *tols*, where the *guru* or preceptor would gather round him a group of resident disciples and instruct them in Sanskrit studies. Many of these *gurus* were true scholars by nature, but they knew nothing of geography, world history or science. Their outlook was necessarily narrow and their curriculum limited.<sup>1</sup>

In 1811 Lord Minto wrote of intellectual backwardness of the time and feared that "the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books or of people capable of explaining them."<sup>2</sup>

Several new factors combined to produce an awakening, by the beginning of the 19th century. In the first place, a small band of British scholars began to devote themselves to do research in Indian history and philosophy, with spectacular results. Sir William Jones, James Prinsep, H.H. Wilson and some others distinguished themselves in this field.

The second group, which became interested in the promotion of education for entirely different reasons was constituted by the British missionaries. William Carey was the first British missionary in India who, from the very beginning devoted himself to the

1. Sir Percival Griffiths, *Modern India* (London : Ernest Ben Ltd., 3rd revised edition, 1962), p- 57.

2. *Ibid.*



promotion of learning and education. He worked as a missionary in India from 1793 until his death in 1834.<sup>3</sup> In 1794, he opened a free Boarding school at Maldah for teaching Sanskrit, Persian, Bengali and Christianity. In 1800, he moved to Serampore in Danish territory where he was free to preach. Here also he established schools.<sup>4</sup>

The third group interested in educational development was composed of rationalist Europeans and liberal British administrators. David Hare, a rationalist European, was endowed with all the devotion of a missionary. It was he who established the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1816.

The fourth group interested in the spread of English education in India was represented by some enlightened and public-spirited Indians, led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. D.S. Sarma in the *Renaissance of Hinduism* writes:

“Already there were new forces working silently towards a great Renaissance which came into full vigour in the early years of the present century. The most important of these factors is of course the spread of English education, which broke the intellectual isolation of the Indian mind and brought it into contact with Western science, literature and history. The result of this was a great mental expansion similar to that which the European natives experienced at the revival of classical learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.”<sup>5</sup>

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, in *A Survey of Indian History*, describes the decision in favour of English education as the most beneficent and revolutionary decision taken by the Government of India and goes on to say, “Much of the New Learning in which India’s Great Recovery has been based would not have been available to us. No doubt, the scientific development of the west would have reached us second hand, but participation in the scientific work of the world would have been

3. •George, D. Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 84.
4. D. P. Sinha, *The Educational Policy of the East India Company in Bengal Upto 1854* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak), p. 9.
5. Quoted by Sir P. Griffiths, *Modern India*, p. 61



but a distant ideal. By going in for education in English, India joined the World Community."<sup>6</sup>

The British missionaries working in India were interested in the spread of English education from the start, for the purpose of converting Indians to Christianity. They looked upon liberal education imparted through English Schools as the most fruitful means for the conversion of Indians to Christianity by making them conscious of their superstitions. As one of them put it in the *Calcutta Journal* of March 11, 1822, "Indians now engaged in the degrading and polluting worship of idols shall be brought to the knowledge of the true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent."<sup>7</sup>

In 1813, the British Parliament directed that one lakh of rupees should be spent by the East India Company on the improvement of education in India, and a Committee of Public Instruction was set up to administer the grant. But the East India Company failed to develop any educational policy immediately after. The money sanctioned in 1813 remained unspent and it was not until 17th July, 1823, that the General Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta was formed and was put in charge of the existing Government institutions and of the one lakh grant (with some arrears).<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, until 1823, educational activity remained confined to the British missionaries, liberal Europeans and enlightened Indians. Missionaries had been actuated by a desire to destroy the foundation of Hinduism and to prepare the way for the reception of Christianity. In May 1800, Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Marshman, missionary-colleagues of William Carey at Serampore, opened two Boarding Schools at Serampore which soon became the most popular institutions of their kind in Bengal.<sup>9</sup> After opening these schools, the British missionaries at Serampore reported to their society in England :

"Commerce has raised new thoughts, so that hundreds, if we could skilfully teach them gratis, would crowd to learn the

6. Quoted by Sir P. Griffiths, *Modern India*, p. 61

7. Quoted by R. C. Majumdar, *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965), p. 36

8. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

9. D. P. Sinha, *Op. cit.*, p. 10



English language: We hope this may be in our power sometime and may be a happy means of diffusing the gospel."<sup>10</sup>

As a result, the British missionaries of various societies vigorously contributed to the growth of English education between 1800 and 1833. In July 1818, the Rev. D. Corrie, of the Calcutta Church Missionary Society opened a school in which arrangements were made for tuition in English, Persian, Hindustanee and Bengali.<sup>11</sup>

By 1815, the British Baptist missionaries at Serampore had opened more than 100 schools in different parts of Bengal. The success of their enterprise tempted them to conceive the idea of establishing a College in which knowledge was to be imparted in English, Hebrew, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese and a number of other Indian languages; and lectures were to be delivered by qualified professors in Mathematics, Medicine, Jurisprudence, Ethics, and Theology.<sup>12</sup> The College was established by the funds supplied by the missionaries themselves, especially by William Carey, who donated for the College the salary he had received from his professorship at Fort William College, and also the income of the schools set up by Dr. and Mrs. Marshman, as well as the profits of the press established at Serampore. In this College, the study of English became exceedingly popular.<sup>13</sup>

The London Missionary Society, which had established its first mission in India at Chinsurah in 1798 was also very active. Rev. May, who succeeded Forsyth, the first missionary of this Society, devoted most of his time to planning the development of education. He established his first school in 1814.<sup>14</sup> It was conducted by him on the Lancastrian Plan. Between July and September, 1815, Rev. May established four new schools. By 1817, thirty-three schools were established by this Society. They became important centres for the dissemination of elementary education.<sup>15</sup>

10. Joshua Marshman, *Carey, Marshman and Ward*. V. I (London: 1864), pp. 130-131

11. S. Mahmud, *History of English Education in India*, (Aligarh: 1895), p. 26

12. M. A. Sherring, *History of Protestant Missions in India* (London: 1875), p. 87

13. L. S. S. O'Malley, *History of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Under British Rule* (Calcutta 1925), p. 745

14. D. P. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 41

15. *Ibid.*, p. 42



In 1816, the Church Missionary Society, began to establish vernacular schools in Burdwan and its vicinity.<sup>16</sup> In 1822, the Christian Knowledge Society introduced the "Circle System". It had three circles, at Tollygunge, Cossipore and Howrah, each had five Auxiliary schools attached to the Central School. In these schools, Scripture, Grammar, Geography and Natural Philosophy were taught in addition to arithmetic, reading and writing.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, at the suggestion of Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel aided by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge decided to establish and support a Missionary College in Calcutta, "to instruct the natives and other Christian Youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church.....; to teach the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mahommedans and Hindus, having in such attainments no object but secular advantage; to prepare and print translation of Scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts, to receive English missionaries on their arrival from England and provide them with instructors in the native languages."<sup>18</sup> The foundation of the College was laid on the 15th December, 1820, but the building was not completed until after Middleton's death in 1822.<sup>19</sup>

The efforts of British missionaries to spread English education received an added impetus from the advent of Dr. Alexander Duff to India in 1829. He was sent to India as a missionary of the Church of Scotland. When Duff arrived at Calcutta in 1830, mission work had reached "a dead end."<sup>20</sup> He found that the congregations gathered by missionaries were small everywhere.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, it was "veritable disaster that the only candidates for baptism in North India were, with a few exceptions, poor down-trodden individuals belonging to the lowest castes, and that these persons hence forward

16. D. P. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 42

17. *Ibid.*, p. 43

18. H. H. Wilson, *History of British India*, vol. II (London, 1845), p. 569

19. D. P. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 43

20. Sherwood Eddy, *Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945), p. 96

21. George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. I New York: American Tract Society, 1879), p. 103



remained pecuniarily dependent on the missions they joined, and thus made no advance towards true moral and religious independence. The Christian community exercised a repellant rather than an attractive influence upon its Hindu neighbours, and was more of a hindrance than a help to missionary progress".<sup>22</sup>

Dr. Duff's homeland had been a centre of educational work. He had grown up in an atmosphere where mission were looked upon as a kind of educational work. The first missionary resolution of the General Assembly of the Council of Scotland in 1825 was "to found schools and colleges for the dissemination of Christian culture in India."<sup>23</sup> Hence, Duff finally made up his mind within a few weeks of his arrival in India that the new line of missionary work was to bring the youth of India under Christian influence by means of schools.<sup>24</sup> It may be noted that Duff's idea was not to have schools for children of Christian parents, because this was on all hands regarded as one of the apparent duties of Protestant missions. He wanted to create schools for the non-Christians, or in the missionary parlance of those days, the "heathen" children, who could be Christianized through them. Through these schools, Dr. Duff wanted to reach the higher classes of India, who were the sole possessors of higher culture and of an already developed intellectual life.<sup>25</sup> He had discovered that all methods adopted by the different missionary societies had failed to gain access to this class.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, he expected that these schools would help him in producing a "contingent of Christians" with noble lineage and brilliant intellectual gifts, who could carry forward the work of missions.<sup>27</sup>

In direct opposition to the Orientalists and Vernacularists Duff resolved to make the English language the vehicle for the new civilization and culture. He believed that Indians would be vitalized by the powerful stream of the new learning and life, as his own Gaelic

22. Julius, Richter, *History of Indian Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908), p. 174, translated by Sidney H. Moore.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 96; Also George Smith, *Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. I (New York: American Tract Society, 1879), p. 109

25. Julius Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 174

26. *Ibid.*, p. 175

27. *Ibid.*



Scots had been.<sup>28</sup> The success of Duff's educational experiment shaped the subsequent growth of Indian education, and to a large extent, "shaped foreign missionary work."<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Duff started his experiment in English education in Calcutta by opening his school on July 30, 1830. Raja Ram Mohan Roy helped him in this undertaking by obtaining rooms for the school and by bringing some of his earliest pupils.<sup>30</sup> Dr. Duff gave the Bible and Christian teachings a commanding place in his school programme. He succeeded in baptizing some of the students. Hindu newspapers began to criticize the proselytizing activities of his school. For sometime, the opposition became so vehement that students withdrew from the school, but they returned again. After the disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843, Dr. Duff decided to adhere to the newly established Free Church and as a result, he gave his school to the old Established Church of Scotland and founded another institution in Neemtola Street in Calcutta.

Dr. Duff remained in Calcutta only a third of a century — 1830-35, 1839-50 and 1856-63, but his labour and influence greatly affected the subsequent development of Indian education. Sir Charles Trevelyn, the Chief Advisor of Lord William Bentinck was influenced by Dr. Duff, in initiating the new educational policy in 1835.<sup>31</sup> According to this new policy, it became the aim of government to naturalize European literature and science in India.

All available funds were to be used solely for the purpose of fostering English culture. The schools for Oriental Studies supported by the government were to be closed down one by one. Also on the famous "Educational Dispatch" of Sir Charles Wood, on July 19, 1854, Duff exercised, along with his distinguished friend Sir Charles Trevelyn, a definite influence.<sup>32</sup> The Dispatch brought with it the necessity for far reaching re-organization of education. To begin with, in each of the Indian Presidencies, a "Department of

29. J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1929), p. 19; Also G. Smith, *Life of A. Duff*, vol. I, p. 120.

30. Julius Richter, *op cit.*, p. 180

31. *Ibid.*

32. Julius Richter, *History of Indian Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908), p. 180



Public Instruction" was formed with control over the whole of the educational system of the particular Presidency. Then the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were created on the model of the London University in 1857. To these universities, all colleges and schools were to be affiliated. Thirdly, the "Grand-in-Aid" system was inaugurated through which the government declared its readiness to support, according to a fixed scale, any school no matter by whom it was established or how directed, provided it complied with certain conditions as to school premises and teaching staff and certain amount of instruction in prescribed subjects, excluding religion.

This new educational policy of the government came to be of cardinal importance in the growth of Indian education. It gave a fillip to missions, committees, private individuals and Indian Princes to open and run educational institutions. It encouraged the various missionary societies to engage in the very congenial work of elementary education to a large extent than ever before. The quarter century of 1830-1857, is, therefore, regarded as the "Age of the Mission Schools."<sup>33</sup>

Dr. Duff left his impression on the missions of the Free Church of Scotland, which continued to be "educational mission *par excellence*" right into the twentieth century.<sup>34</sup> Through his direct influence nearly half a dozen colleges were opened by British missionaries in various cities of India. In Bombay, Dr. John Wilson, another brilliant<sup>35</sup> Scotch missionary, founded the College, which afterwards bore his name. At Madras, Dr. Anderson and Braidwood opened the General Assembly's School in 1837, which afterwards became the "Christian College." In Nagpur, Stephen Hislop, in 1844 opened a College. In 1853, the Church Missionary Society of England founded the St. John's College at Agra. In 1841, Robert Noble of the Church Missionary Society founded the Noble College at Masulipatam. All this activity was directly inspired by Dr. Duff.<sup>36</sup> Besides, the National Church of Scotland also established colleges at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Julius Richter, *History of Indian Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908), p. 184.



Through his educational activities, Dr. Duff succeeded partially in realizing his ambition of creating a "Contingent of Christians", who could lead the Christian community in India. He converted several young men of brilliant gifts from the highest classes of Hindu society. According to his biographer, George Smith, Duff converted twenty-six young men, who, afterwards became the pillars of the Indian Church.<sup>37</sup> The following names converted by Duff (Krishna Mohan Banerjee, Gopinath Nandi, Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, Anand Chandra Mazumdar and Lal Bihari Day) became, according to Dr. Julius Richter, the famous German historian of Protestant missions, "the glittering stars in the firmament of the Indian Christian World."<sup>38</sup> Due to Dr. Duff's activity, Christianity became the burning subject of discussion in the highest Indian circle in Calcutta, and "an excitement and tremour swept through Hindu society that had never been experienced before nor since."<sup>39</sup>

The educational policy of American missionary societies, in comparison to the British missionaries, was heavily weighted in favour of evangelism from the very beginning.

Among the American missionary societies working in India during the period under review were the following:-

1. Missionaries belonging to the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions.
2. Missionaries belonging to the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
3. Missionaries belonging to the Methodist Church in the U. S. A.
4. Missionaries belonging to the Baptist Church in the U. S. A.
5. Missionaries belonging to the Lutheran Church in the U. S. A.
6. Missionaries belonging to the Unitarian Church in the U. S. A.

Missionaries belonging to all these American Societies, except the Presbyterians and Unitarians, were primarily interested in conversion and, therefore, paid little attention to the spread of education in general and English education, in particular, during the period under review. Some enthusiastic efforts by missionaries for promoting English education were not supported by their home boards and had, ultimately, to be given up.

37. George Smith, *Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. I (New York: The American Tract Society, 1879), p. 475

38. Julius Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 184

39. *Ibid.*



In 1854, under the inspiration of Dr. Alexander Duff, missionaries belonging to American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, opened two schools for teaching English at Bombay and Madras. Since the schools had ultimately to be financed by their home board, they sent earnest representations to their Prudential Committee in Boston for sending contributions for maintaining these schools.<sup>40</sup> The Prudential Committee sent a deputation to India for the purpose of ascertaining the suitability of financing such schools.<sup>41</sup> The report of this deputation was of utmost importance in the history of the educational policy of this missionary society in India. The recommendations made by this deputation were immediately put into effect and continued to determine their educational policy until 1886.

On the question of teaching English in their schools, the deputation advised against the continuance of such schools because they were not the best agencies for spreading the gospel among heathens. They declared the vernacular as the most suitable language for such purposes.<sup>42</sup> They even doubted the efficacy of schools in general as converting instrumentalities and recommended opening schools for training pastors and preachers only.<sup>43</sup>

As a result, the two English teaching schools belonging to this society in Bombay and Madras were closed down in 1856.<sup>44</sup> All schools teaching non-Christian children and employing non-Christian teachers were also closed.<sup>45</sup> Henceforward, schools maintained by this society were meant only for converts and native pastors.<sup>46</sup> In these schools, the emphasis was only on teaching Christianity and its tenets and not on improving the intellectual ability or broadening the general culture of the pupils. One of the missionaries of this society explained the educational policy as follows:-

"The chief object of our mission being the preaching of the gospel, we cannot establish schools for heathen children. We

40. American Board, *Annual Report*, 1856, (Boston: Congregational house, 1856), p. 119.

41. American Board, *Report of the Deputation to India and Ceylon*, (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1856), p. 6

42. American Board, *Report of the Deputation Sent to India and Ceylon*. pp. 34-35

43. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

44. American Board, *Annual Report*, 1856 (Boston: 1856), pp. 120-53

45. American Board, *Annual Report*, 1899 (Boston: 1899), p. 79

46. *Ibid.*, p. 80



have not the time nor the means to enter upon this work, which more properly to those who have the charge of the secular interests of the Hindoos. It is otherwise with Christian children. They belong to us.....We must see that they are elevated above the ignorance of the mass of the people; that they are kept away as much as possible from the influence of heathenism..... Our object is not to bestow upon them the elegancies of a foreign education. We, therefore, instruct them only through the vernacular language. We strive to impart to them that education.....which shall make them useful men and useful Christians.<sup>47</sup>

The American Baptist missionaries had hardly any educational policy worth the name during the period under review. They had a single mission with few converts at Nellore and Andhra Pradesh. They had, therefore, deferred the opening of schools until they had gained a sizable number of converts.<sup>48</sup>

The American Methodists who began their work in India in 1856, opened some vernacular teaching schools at Nainital, Bareilly and Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh. They did not run any English teaching schools during the period under review.<sup>49</sup> The American Lutheran missionaries who began their work in India in 1843, were maintaining some primary schools for teaching vernacular as well as one Anglo-Vernacular school at Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>50</sup>

Among the American missionaries, therefore, only the Presbyterians and Unitarians, exhibited interest in teaching English and made some notable contributions in this field. The Presbyterian missionaries had close affinity with Dr. Alexander Duff who belonged to the same Church. They, therefore, easily imbibed his ideals in the field of education, and opened English teaching schools at

47. American Board, *Annual Report*, 1856, p. 162

48. E. J. Merriam, *History of American Baptist Missions*, (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1913), p. 138

49. W. C. Barclay, *History of American Methodist Missions, Part II*, (New York: Board of Foreign Missionaries of the Methodist Church, 1957), p. 467.

50. George Drach, *Our Church Abroad: The Foreign Missions of the Lutheran Church in America*, (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1920), p. 37



Ludhiana, Ambala, Lahore, Saharanpur and Dehradun in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>51</sup> In 1865, by opening the Forman Christian College, Lahore, they made a significant contribution to the spread of English education in the Punjab. Under the leadership of its Founder-Principal, the Rev. Charles Forman, it very soon became a famous seat of learning in North-Western India.<sup>52</sup>

The American Unitarian Missionary Society had been deeply influenced by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in formulating their educational policy. As early as 1824, the Raja had been in correspondence with Dr. Ware, Senior, of Boston, who was one of the leaders of the Unitarian movement in the U.S.A. In one of his letters the Raja had advised him not to send preachers to India but to send teachers who could establish schools and teach by personal explanation and persuasion; Christianity in its genuine sense might make a strong impression on every intelligent mind.<sup>53</sup> As a result, the Rev. C. H. A. Dall, the first Unitarian missionary to India was sent who established six English teaching schools in Calcutta soon after his arrival in 1855.<sup>54</sup> English language as well as Unitarian Christianity were taught to three hundred boys and girls in three schools. Rev. Dall himself used to teach in some of these schools.<sup>55</sup>

The period between 1800 and 1870 is regarded as the period of intellectual awakening in modern Indian history. With the spread of English education, modern ideas of government, law, history, and literature were being absorbed by the youth of India, who were to lead India to freedom in due course. The new educational policy of the government created during these years the modern educated class of India which thought and spoke in English habitually and whose intellectual life had been almost entirely

51. Arthur J. Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1936), pp. 605-07

52. *Ibid.*, p. 608

53. American Unitarian Association, *The Mission to India* (Boston: Office of Quarterly Journals, 1857), p. 13

54. Rev. C. H. A. Dall, "Our Duty and Opportunity in India", *Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association*, vol. XI, No. 4, May, 1869 (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1869), pp. 175-53.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 180

56. J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1929), p. 21.



formed by the thought of the west.<sup>56</sup> Members of this class very soon assumed leadership in the different learned professions as well as in the political, religious, and social movements.

The greatest contribution to the rise of this modern educated class was made by the government of the East India Company which decided in favour of modern education as early as 1835 and by 1857, established the three Universities of Calcutta, Bymbay and Madras. Some liberal Europeans and enlightened Indians also contributed to the spread of this modern education in which teaching of the English language formed an important part. British missionaries under the leadership of Dr. Alexander Duff made notable contribution to the spread of English education. In comparison to the British missionaries, the contribution made by American missionaries to the spread of English education during the period under review was not very significant. This was because most of the American missionary societies working in India during the period were primarily interested in evangelism and conversion and, therefore, paid little attention to the spread of English education. Some of them were even suspicious of higher education and teaching of English because English language contained enough anti-Christian literature also.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, some American societies were busy with their initial work and expansion which prevented them from embarking upon bold educational work which they attempted towards the end of the nineteenth century. All these factors combined to make the contribution of American missionaries to the general intellectual awakening in India less significant than that of British missionaries in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century.

57. American Board, *Annual Report*, 1840, p. 116







## Māthara Rule in Kalinga

( Circa 350 A. D. - 550 A. D. )

BY

DR. S. C. BEHERA, M. A., Ph. D.,

With the advent of the Mātharas on the political stage of Kalinga Orissan history becomes eventful and important after a lapse of four centuries of disintegration. The period from first century A.D to fourth century A.D. is one of foreign predominance on Orissan soil. With the fall of Mahāmeghavahānas towards the first century A.D. Kuṣāṇas seem to have exerted their influence over Orissa. A large number of Kuṣāṇa and Purikuṣāṇa coins<sup>1</sup> found in different parts of Orissa lead us to believe that Kalinga, in all probability came under the sway of the Kuṣāṇas for some time. The sculptural specimens of the gate keepers with boots found in the Caves of Udayagiri exhibit the cultural impact of the Kuṣāṇas. Just as the imperial Guptas destroyed the remnant of Kuṣāṇ power in northern India, so also the imperial Mātharas seem to have driven out the Kuṣāṇas from the Orissan soil.<sup>2</sup> The circumstances under which there set in the fall of the Kuṣāṇas will reveal the real origin of the Mātharas in the subsequent pages.

### ORIGIN OF THE MĀTHARAS

It is well known from a study of archaeological findings in Orissa that after the discovery of a large number of Kuṣāṇa coins, chronol-

1. I. A. R. A. S. I. Vol. XII P. 116; proceedings of A. S. B. (1895) p. 61 A. S. I. (1924-25) P-130.

Many copper coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka were found at Bhanjkiā in the Pāñchpiḍha subdivision of the Mayurbhanj district. (vide A. R. A. S. I., 1925 pp. 131-132.) The late Dr. A. S. Altekar has referred to 'a unique Kushan gold coin of king Dhammadāmadhara' discovered at Sisupalagarh at Bhubaneswar (vide J. N. S. I. Vol. XII P. 1). Sri T. N. Ram-Chandran refers to five Puri Kushan coins discovered from Sitabingi in Keonjhar district (vide J. N. S. I. Vol. XIII P. 69). In May 1960 the present writer of this paper discovered a pot full of Kushan coins from Bhillingi which is no other than Bhilingabhoga vishaya of the Māthara records (vide line 2 of the Baranga plates; ORH J Vol. VI p. 108.

2. O. H. R. J. Vol. XII; No. 2 pp. 57-59.



ogically we get fifteen sets of copper plate grants of the kings of the Māṭhara and Vāśiṣṭha families of Kalinga. The Māṭharas come to the lime-light of history closely following the South Indian campaign of Samudragupta. In the time of Gupta invasion<sup>3</sup> Orissa was divided into petty independent states such as Kosala, Mahākāntāra, Kurāla Piṣṭapura, Mahendrabhoga,<sup>4</sup> Girikottura, Eraṇḍapalla and Devarāstra. But with the rise of Māṭharas in the middle of the fourth century A.D. petty states of Kalinga were brought under one umbrella and the Kalingan empire during their palmy days extended from the Mahānaḍī in the north to the Kṛṣṇaveṇī in the South.<sup>5</sup> We are inclined to suggest that as Samudragupta had to crush the remnant of Kuṣāṇa power by subjugating. 'Daivapatrashahi Sahanu Sahi'<sup>6</sup> the Māṭharas had to face a similar clash with some Kuṣāṇa power in Orissa. In this connection we quote below an interesting account which connects the great Kuṣan king Kaniṣka with his minister known as Māṭhara. The account was recorded in *S'ri Dharmapiṭaka* in or about 472 A. D. and it was published by the famous French Sinologist Sylvan Levi.<sup>7</sup> It says:- "There was a minister named *Motchonolo* (Māṭhara). He told *Ki-ni-tcha* (Kanishka) if he followed his advice without divulging it all the earth would be subject to him."<sup>8</sup> It is further related in that account that at the instigation of Māṭhara when Kaniṣka became over ambitious and intended to conquer northern region his generals "put a blanket over him, a man sat upon it and the king expired at once." V. A. Smith<sup>9</sup> thinks that the strange tale professing to relate the end of Kaniṣka possibly may be founded on fact. The account says that Māṭhara diplomatically brought about the tragic end of Kaniṣka. The History of Kalinga, when studied with the help of Kuṣāṇ coins and Māṭhara inscriptions, gives us the idea that Kuṣāṇ supremacy in Kalinga was followed by Māṭhara rule. Is there any link between the two events? We presume that Māṭhara, the minister of Kaniṣka, proceeded to South India and established a dynasty, a branch of which appeared in Kalinga and destroyed the

3 C. I. I. Vol. III pp. 6 ff (see lines 19-20 of the Allahabad pillar Inscription).

4. Vide line 2 of the Dhavalapeta plates (E. I-XXVI, p. 132); and line 19 of the Allahabad pillar Inscription.

5. See lines 2-3 of the Niṅgoṇḍi grant (E. I. XXX, 112)

6. See line 23 of the Allahabad pillar Inscription.

7. *Journal Asiatique* (1896) pp. 444-484.

8. *Ind. Anti XXXII*, pp. 381-388.

9. *The Early History of India* (1908) p. 251.



remnants of Kuṣāṇ power in Orissa. In South India Sri Vīrapuruṣa Datte calls himself "Māṭhariputra" in his Nāgarjunikoṇḍā inscriptions<sup>10</sup> In the same inscriptions his father, Sāntamūla has been referred to as "Vāsiṣṭhiputra".<sup>11</sup> In South India the Māṭharas and the Vāsiṣṭhas were thus intimately connected by matrimonial alliance. We think that the Māṭharas of South India and the Māṭharas of Kalinga owed their origin to Māṭhara, thāt eminent political genius of the court of Kaniṣka. We further learn from *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*<sup>12</sup> that the people called the Māṭharas dwelt along the river Śatadrue (Sutlej), which was not far away from the capital of Kaniṣka. Vāmana Purāṇa also lends support to this view. In the light of these Purāṇic evidences we think that Māṭhara, who was an inhabitant of the valley of Śatadru, and who was also responsible for the fall of Kaniṣka, in all probability migrated to the South and founded the dynasty, which bears his name.

### POLITICAL HISTORY

The early history of Kalinga from Cir. 350 A.D. to Cir 550 A.D. is known to us from fifteen sets of copper plate grants<sup>14</sup> issued by different kings, namely Viśakavarmā, Umavarmā, Anantaśakti Varmā, Sakti Varmā, Ananta Varma, Chanda Varma, Nanda-prabhaujana Varma and Prabhanjana Varmā. All these donors of the plates except Viśākha Varmā claimed the title of "Lord of Kalinga". Some of them namely, Nanda Prabhanjana Varmā and Prabhanjanavarmā extended their territory from the Mahānadī to the Kṛṣṇāveṇī<sup>15</sup> and they adorned themselves with the title of "Sakala Kalingādhipati" or Lord of entire Kalinga". These early kings of Kalinga, however, trace their origin in various ways. Ananta Saktivarmā, Saktivarmā and Prabhnjanavarmā trace their origin from Māṭhara family. They declared themselves as "Ornament of the Māṭhara family" and "Promotor of the glory of the Māṭhara dynasty. "Ananta Varmā traces his descent from the Vāsiṣṭha lineage by referring to his father as the "moon of the Vāsiṣṭha family". But Viśākhavarmā, Uma varmā, Chaṇḍavarmā and Nandaprabhanjanavarmā are silent regarding their family.

10. Select Inscriptions: D. C. Sircar pp. 220-221.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 219. See line 5 of the Inscription.

12. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* : Ed. by F. E. Pargiter (1905) pp. 316-317

13. Vāmana Purāṇa, Adhyaya XIII, Verses 38-39

14. Incriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, part II by Sri S. N. Rajaguru, pages 1-80

15. See lines 2-3 of the Ningonḍi grant (L. I. XXX, 112)



Regarding these early kings of Kāliṅga Dr. D. C. Sircar<sup>16</sup> thinks that they belonged to three distinct families namely, Pitṛibhakta, Māṭhara and Vāśiṣṭha, struggling for the supreme authority over Kāliṅga. But Sri S. N. Rajaguru<sup>17</sup> thinks that all these kings belonged to the Māṭhara dynasty of Kāliṅga. Dr. Sircar's view that some of these kings belonged to Pitṛibhakta dynasty does not appear to be sound because the term "Pitṛibhakta" indicates a cult rather than a family. Except Sakti Varman and Prabhanjanavarman all the early kings of Kāliṅga of this period were devotees of Pitṛi or Bappa Bhaṭṭaraka. Regarding Sri Rajaguru's view we may say that although all these early kings do not call themselves Māṭharas, there was a close family tie between the Māṭharas and Vāśiṣṭhas. Sakti varmā who was a monarch of the Māṭhara family, has been described in the Ragolu plates as Vāśiṣṭhiputra.<sup>18</sup> Again it may be pointed out that the officers served the Māṭharas and the so called Pitṛibhaktas hereditarily. It is known from Andhararam plates<sup>19</sup> that one officer called Māṭrivarā served Ananta Śaktivarman of the Māṭhara family whereas we learn from the Bobili plates<sup>20</sup> that his son Rudradatta served as an officer under Chaṇḍavarmā, the so-called Pitṛibhakta. Sri R.K. Ghoshal<sup>21</sup> is of opinion that this family of scribes plied their trade in two Royal Courts of ancient Kāliṅga. But in that case these scribes would have been treated as professional writers whereas they had definite official status and enjoyed such posts as those of Deśākṣapaṭala, Daṇḍanāyaka and Amātya. It seems that these scribes in all probability served one royal house hereditarily. So we are inclined to agree with Sri S. N. Rajaguru<sup>22</sup> who thinks that the patronymic and matronymic titles of the early kings of Kāliṅga were Māṭhara and Vāśiṣṭhiputra respectively". Among these rarely kings of Kāliṅga Viśākhaavarman, the donor of Khoroshonḍā copper plate grant, appears to be the earliest. He established his headquarter at Śrīpura, identified with the modern village of the same name near Paralakhemandi. But it seems that he could not recover the lost glory of Kalinga and his suzerainty near Paralankhemandi. He

16. A New History of Indian people, vol. VI, p. 76

17. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 59.

18. See line 2 of the plates; E. I. Vol. XII, pp. 1-3

19. See line 20 of the plates; E. I. Vol. XXVIII; pp. 175-179.

20. See lines 19-20 of the plates; E. I. Vol. XXVII, pp. 33-36

21. E. I. Vol. XXVI, p. 133

22. Inscriptions of Orissa, vol. I, p. 68



was the only ruler among the early kings of Kaliṅga who could not enjoy the early kings of Kaliṅgādhipati".

Viśākhavarmā seems to have been succeeded by Umavarma, who like his predecessor had a humble status for a considerable period. In his Baranga, Tekkali and Dhavalapetā copper plate grants he has been described only as a "Mahārāja".<sup>23</sup> His occupation of the strategic region of Mahendragiri (Mehendrabhoga)<sup>24</sup> seems to have strengthened his position and enabled him to declare himself as "Kaliṅgādhipati" during his 30th regnal year.<sup>25</sup> He established his capital at Simhapura which was the old capital of Kaliṅga in the pre-Gupta period. Dr. Hultzsch has rightly identified Simhapura with Singupuram situated between Śrīkākulam and Narsanna peta in Śrīkākulam district. The title "Kaliṅgādhipati" which Umavarmā claimed in the Vṛihatproṣṭha grant, was practically used by all his successors.

There is nothing in the Māthara records about the successor of Umavarmā. However, it is known that Māṭṛivara<sup>27</sup> who was a writer under Omavarmā continued to enjoy the said post under Anantaśaktivarman. So it seems that Umavarmā and Anantaśaktivarmā were not separated by a long gap. Anantaśaktivarmā records in his Āndhavaram copper plate grant that he inherited his body as well as kingdom from his glorious father Śakti, who may be designated as Saktivarmā I. This Śakti (varmā) should not be confused with either the issuer of the Ragolu plates or the father of Prabhanjana varman bearing the same name. So it seems that Umavarmā was probably succeeded by Śakti (varma I)

Śakti (varmā) was succeeded by his son Anantaśaktivarmā, who is known to us from his Āndhavaram plates dated in *Samvatsara* 14 and the Madras Museum plates<sup>28</sup> dated in *Samvatsara* 28. Māṭṛivara, who was a writer under Umavarmā, not only continued in the said post under Anantaśaktivarma but also was elevated to the status of

23. O. H. R. J. Vol. VI, p. 108; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 53; E. I. XXVI, 132

24. See line 2 of Dhavalapeta plates.

25. See line 1 of the Vṛihatproṣṭha grant; E. I. XII, 4.

26. E. I. Vol. IV, p. 143

27. See line 16 of the Vṛihatproṣṭha grant (E. I. XII, 4) and line 20 of the Āndhavaram plates (E. I. XXVIII, 175)

28. E. I. XXVIII, 226



Daṇḍanāyaka. The last known regnal year of Anantaśaktivarmā is 28. Probably he ruled for about 30 yaers like Umavarmā.

There is also no record to give the name of Anantaśaktivarmā's successor. But it is persumed that he was succeeded by Śaktivarmā II, because it is found that Arjunadatta,<sup>29</sup> who was the writer of the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarmā, was also the writer of the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarmā II. The extent of Kaliṅga that was under the Māṭharas at this time seems to be much limited Kaliṅga has been referred to as a viṣaya or district in the line 3 of the Ragolu plates. Śaktivarmā II probably ruled for about 20 years, his only regnal year being *Samvatsara* 13.

It has been suggested that Śaktivarmā II was very probably succeeded by Chaṇḍavarmā because it is known that Rudradatta,<sup>30</sup> son of Mātṛvara was allowed to hold the office of a writer at this time. It appears that when Mātṛvara probably died some time before the 28th regnal year of Anantaśaktivarmā, his son Rudradatta was still a young boy. Hence Arjunadatta continued to hold the office of the writer for aome time under Anantaśaktivarmā and Śaktivarmā II. When Rudradatta was of proper age to hold the office he was posted in his father's office under Chaṇḍavarmān. Chaṇḍavarman, as known to us from his Bobili and Komarti plates,<sup>31</sup> maintained his headquarters at Siṃhapura, which had flourished under his predecessors Ananta Saktivarma and Umavarma. Probably he ruled for about one decade at the end of which it seems that the line of Guṇavarman appeared on the political stage.

We have no information to establish the link between Chaṇḍavarmā and Guṇavarmā the grandfather of Anantavarmā. In the Śringavarapukotā plates<sup>32</sup> Guṇavarmā has been described as Lord of Devarāṣṭra (Devarāṣṭrādhipati). We know that Samudragupta in course of his south Indian campaign had subdued Kurera, Lord of Devarāṣṭra, in Cir. 350 A. D. Thus we find that after the Gupta invasion this was the first successful attempt of the Māṭharas and Vāśiṣṭas to exercise their suzerainty over Devarāṣṭra.

29. See line 20 of the Madras Museum plates and line 24 of the Ragolu plates (E. I. XII, 1).

30. See lines 19-20 of the Bobili plates (E. I. XXVII, pp. 33-36)

31. E. I. IV, 142

32. See line 2 of the plates (E. I, XXIII, 56)



Guṇavarmā was succeeded by his son Prabhanjanavarmā I, who possibly ruled for a short period. Prabhanjanavarmā I, was succeeded by his son Anantavarmā, who is known to us from his Siripuram<sup>33</sup> and Sringavarapukota copper plates. He not only established his position at Piṣṭapura, which was a stronghold under Śaktivarmā II, but also extended his political sway over Devapura, which was probably the Capital city of Devarāṣṭra. During the reign of Anantavarmā the territorial limits of Kālīṅga seem to have been considerably extended. Kālīṅga, which was termed as a viśaya in the reign of Śaktivarmā II, had now comprised Devarāṣṭra, Piṣṭapura, Siṃhapura and the region round Mahendragiri.

In the next generation Nandaprabhanjanavarmā was out to stretch the northern border of Kālīṅga. Unfortunately we have no evidence to show the relation between Anantavarman and Nandaprabhanjanavarman. Nandaprabhanjanavarmā is known to us from his Chica cole<sup>34</sup> and Baraṅga plates.<sup>35</sup> In both the copper plates he has been designated as "Sakala Kālīṅgādhipati." All his predecessors could only boast of their title "Kālīṅgādhipati". But the assumption of the title "Sakalakālīṅgādhipati" along with the discovery of Baraṅga plates in Orissa very well indicates that Nandaprabhanjanavarmā obviously marched in the northern direction and donated "Baraṅgā-grahāra"<sup>36</sup> (which goes by the same name till today). The fifteenth regnal year is the last known date of Nandaprabhanjanavarmā, who probably ruled for about twenty years.

Nandaprabhanjanavarmā was probably followed by the line of Śankaravarmā whose appearance in the political stage of Kālīṅga marked the zenith of Māthara supremacy. In his Niṅgoṇḍi copper plates<sup>37</sup> Prabhanjanavarmā II calls himself the son of Śaktivarmā III and grandson of Śankaravarmā. These three generations of Māthara kings made a definite bid for their supremacy over entire Kālīṅga in the northern direction. In the Niṅgoṇḍi grant it is clearly mentioned that they ruled their subjects in the region lying between the Kṛṣṇā-venī and the Mahānadī<sup>38</sup> according to religious law. In other words

33. E. I. Vol. XXIV, p. 47

34. I. A. Vol. XIII, pp. 48-50

35. O. H. R. J. Vol. VI, pp. 106-114

36. See line 7 of the Baraṅga plates of Nandaprabhanjanavarmā.

37. E. I. Vol. XXX, 112

38. *Ibid* See lines 2-3 of the Grant.



they marched as far as modern Cuttack and possibly made an attempt to march beyond Mahānadī. Here it is interesting to note that a hoard of copper coins bearing the legend 'Śrī Nandasya' has been found at Gaṇḍīleḍha near Balasore.<sup>39</sup> The scripts of the legend are of the boxhed type which lasted from the fourth century A. D. to the eighth century A. D. in Kalinga and Kosala. In the known history of Kosala, Tosala and Utkala we do not find any ruler having this name. But in the early history of Kalinga of period under review we come across the name Nanda Prabhanjanavarman who has been described in his Chīcācole and Baraṅga plates as "Sakala Kalingādhipati." Prabhanjanavarman is also known to have ruled as far as the Mahānadī in the north. So it is not wide of the mark to presume that the said coins of Gaṇḍīleḍha were minted by Nandaprabhanjanavarman or one of the successors of Prabhanjanavarman who was ambitious enough to stretch the northern boarder of Kalinga beyond the Mahānadī.

Thus it is apparent that in their palmy days the Mātharas ruled over the extensive region of Kalinga from Pithāpurm in the South to Balasore in the North. But how these mighty Mātharas fell from power and under what circumstances their position was occupied by the Sailodbhavas in the northern half of "Sakala Kalinga" and by the Gaṅgas in its southern half, from an important prelude to the long drama of the seventh century Orissan politics.

### *FALL OF THE MĀTHARAS*

Throuh a series of conquests the imperial Mātharas occupied the entire Kalinga from the Mahānadī to the Kṛishnāveṇī. But it seems that conquest was not followed by proper consolidation. They did not increase the number of officers in a growing state. While the Gupta grants were usually attended by a large number officials, the Māthara records refer only to one or two officers. This lack of proper consolidation was probably one of the causes which weakened the central structure of the empire.

In the beginning of the sixth century A. D. the territory of Kalinga became the cockpit of ambitious monarchs of the southern, western and eastern India. The rising Viṣṇu-Kuṇḍins<sup>40</sup> seized the

39. O. H. R. J. Vol. V, pp. 157-159.



extreme south of "Sakala Kaliṅga" and central Indian powers began to cast their longing eyes on the central part of Kaliṅga. In the midst of external invasion and chaotic condition the Mātharas disappeared from the political scene.

In the beginning of the sixth century A. D. the Mātharas received a rude shock from the rising Viṣṇu-kuṇḍins<sup>40</sup> who seem to have snatched away Piṣṭapura as we learn from the Chikkula plates of the Godavari district.<sup>41</sup> Consequently the extreme southern part of Kaliṅga fell under the possession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and it became a part of Veṅgi.

In or about the same period the Vākātakas of Vatsaguluna (Basim) became very ambitious. We learn from the Ajantā cave inscription<sup>42</sup> that Harisena (Cir. 475–Cir. 510 A. D.) of the said dynasty conquered Kuntala, Kaliṅga, Trikuta, Āndhra, Ananti, Kosala and Lāta. Thus it seems that Mātharas received another rude shock from the Vākātakas of Madhyabharat when they suffered serious reverses at the hands of Harisena.

The Mātharas were not only subjugated by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Vākātakas. Their growing imperialism seems to have been checked by Chandra in the north-east. As already discussed above the Matharas had extended their territory in the north-eastern direction upto the Mahānadī and presumably they proceeded even beyond Mahānadī as far as Balasore. It may be noted here that Mahārājādhirāja Gopachandra of Eastern India, who is known to us from Mallasurul plates<sup>43</sup> of Vijayasena, Faridpur plates<sup>44</sup> of Nāga-deva and Jayarāmpur plates<sup>45</sup> of Achyuta, enjoyed sovereign status from Faridpur in East Pakistan upto Balasore in Orissa. The recently discovered copper plates of Achyuta were found at Jayarampur in the Bhogrāi Police Station of north Balasore. From the said inscription it is distinctly known that Daṇḍabhukti was an integral part of the vast

40. A History of South India (Nilskantha Sastri) p. 101

41. Kielhorn's List No. 687: E. I. Vol. V, App. p. 92 *ibid*, p. 195; Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins by Dr. M. Rama Rao, p. 15)

42. Hyderabad Archaeological Survey No. 14, P. I and A. S. W. I. Vol. IV, p. 119; I. C. Vol. VII, p. 372.

43. E. I. Vol. XXIII, pp. 155-156

44. I. A. Vol. XXXIX, pp. 198-210

45. O. H. R. J., Vol. XI, p. 200



empire of Mahārājādhirāja Gopa Chandra, who flourished in or about the first quarter of the sixth century A. D.

While the Mātharas marched beyond the Mahānadī as far as Balasore, it seems they received a check from Gopachandra. A powerful monarch like Gopachandra having several subordinate rulers in Eastern India as far as Balasore could not have kept quiet when the Māthara kings went on marching to the vicinity of the southern boarder of his empire. So we presume that the Mātharas were possibly driven back by Gopachandra from their advancement to the north.

Thus we find that in the first quarter of the sixth century A. D. being checked by southern, central and east Indian powers the hegemony of the Mātharas was restricted in every direction and probably it was confined to the strategic region of Mahendragiri. During this critical hour Yasodharman of Mālva<sup>46</sup> in course of his sensational Digvijaya marched as far as Mahendragiri in Orissa. It seems that he was not only responsible for the ultimate decline of the Gupta empire in Bengal but also for the ultimate fall of Mātharas in Kalinga.

Closely following the military expedition of Yasodharman in the later half of the sixth century A. D. Prthivimahārāja of Śrī Rāma Kāsyapa gotra occupied Piṣṭapura and issued his Tanḍivāḍa grant<sup>47</sup> in his fortysixth regnal year. Subsequently he marched as far as Virajā<sup>48</sup> in course of a military expedition and it seems that for some time he was the political successor of the Mātharas in the extent land of Kalinga. But his expedition had no lasting effect on the political history of Kalinga.

It was during this crucial period in the middle of the sixth century A. D., that Pulindasena, an aboriginal chief of Kalinga came to the rescue of the country, which was shaken by external aggression.<sup>49</sup> He laid the foundation of the Sailodbhava dynasty which ruled in the northern half of Kalinga, north of Mahendragiri, while

46. C. I, Vol. III, p. 142

47. E. I, Vol. XIV, p. 88

48. The Paralakhemundi Copper plates of Prthivimahārāja (Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, by S. N. Rajaguru, p. 54) were issued from Viraja.

49. See line 8 of the Cuttack Museum chart (E. I. XXIV, 148)



the Gaṅgas who appeared almost in the same period ruled in the southern half of "Sakala Kaliṅga". Mahendrabhoga, Korāśhoḍaka and Varāahavartti, which were prosperous under the Mātharas once again became the political centres of Kaliṅga under the Gangas.<sup>50</sup> Thus on the ruins of the Māthara empire there arose two great Kingdoms of Kalinga and Koṅgoda dominated by the Gaṅgas and the Śailodhavas respectively.

### CULTURAL HERITAGE

Under the Māthara kings Kaliṅga became a centre of Brahmanism and Vedic culturē. Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras* such as Kāśyapa, Atreya Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Devarāta were invited from different parts of India and they were granted lands for the patronage of learning. In my article "Home — Land of Viṣṇuśarmā" published in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XXXVIII (1962) pp. 160-167 I have drawn the attention of the scholars by suggesting that Viṣṇuśarmā wrote the celebrated "Pañchatantra" under the patronage of Śakti (varmā I), while he served as a teacher of Anantaśaktivarmā of the Māthara family of Kaliṅga. In the Kathāmukham" of Pañchatantra there is reference to one Amaraśakti who appointed Viṣṇuśarmā as the royal tutor for his three sons viz; Bahuśakti, Ugraśakti and Anantaśakti.<sup>51</sup> The three sons of Amaraśakti were most notorious but on account of the gracious arrangement made by their father they learnt the politics—ethical teachings from Viṣṇuśarma who had attained wide celebrity among all students as an expert in śāstras. It is interesting to note that in his Āndhavaram copper plate<sup>52</sup> Anantaśaktivarmā expresses his gratitude to his father by recording that he acquired the body as well as the kingdom through the mercy of his glorious father Śakti. In our article quoted above we have suggested that in all probability Śakti of Āndhavaram plates is the same as Amaraśakti of Pañchatantra and that king Anantaśaktivarmā of Kaliṅga was one of the three sons of Amaraśakti as described in that literary work. Students of oriental learning are aware of the fact that the "Pañchatantra" attained wide popularity in many parts of the civilised world as early as the middle of the sixth century A. D. The Mātharas, as we learn from their charters, belonged to the

50. E. I. XVIII, 332; J. A. H. R. S. x, 143; J. B. O. R. S. XIV, 282; I. A. XIII, 123; E. I. XXVIII, 235; E. I. III, 127.

51. Pañcatantra, ed. by Gokuldas Gupta, p. 2

52. E. I., vol XXVIII, pp 175-179



fourth and the fifth century of the Christian era. So it is quite likely that they extended patronage to Viṣṇuśarmā, one of the most celebrated and learned writers in the history of Sanskrit literature. It is further known to us that the Śrī Rāma Kāśyapa, who occupied pistapura at the expense of the Mātharas sometime in the sixth century A. D., also patronised the sons and grandsons of Viṣṇuśarmā. Prthvīmahārāja<sup>53</sup> of Śrī Rāmakāśyapa gotra donated the village of Taṇḍivāḍa to Bhavaśarman, who was the son of Prthviśarman and grandson of Viṣṇuśarmā whose mind had been purified by the due performance of Agnistoma and other sacrifices and who had mastered the Sruti and Smṛiti.<sup>54</sup>

### MARITIME ACTIVITIES

The Māthara rule in Kalinga seems to have encouraged the maritime activities of the people. In the sea coast of Kalinga was located the famous port Paloura, which according to Ptolemy<sup>55</sup> was one of the most important trading stations in the second century A. D. Mr. Ioldhan has identified Paloura with paluru at the northern extremity of the Ganjam district. Even as late as 310 A. D., when Dāthavaṁṣa<sup>57</sup> was completed, there flourished in the coast of Kalinga the well-known port Dantapura, which has been identified by Sylvan Lévi<sup>58</sup> with Palluru. Palluru may be the same as modern Palura. We further learn from Javanese tradition that the pioneer of Javanese colonisation came from Klinga (Kalinga). The New History of the Tang Dynasty<sup>59</sup> mentions a kingdom of the name Holing in Central Java which flourished in the sixth century A. D. Holing has been usually supposed to be the equivalent of Kalinga. Thus we find that there is evidence to reveal that at least from the time of Ptolemy Kalinga with its famous trading station Paloura or Paluru (Dantapura of literary fame) carried on maritime activities and by the sixth century A. D. the Kalingans had established a new kingdom of "Ho-ling" in central Java.

53. See lines 10-19 of the Taṇḍivāḍa grant (E. I. XXIII, 88)

54. Inscriptions of Orissa, vol. I, part II (ed. by Sri S. N. Rajaguru) p. 49

55. Researches on Ptolemy by Girini. p. 743, J. K. H. R. S., vol. I, p. 351; Ptolemy VII, 1-16.

56. J. B. O. R. S., vol. XXII, p. 1.

57. Dāthavaṁṣa (ed. by B. C. Law), chapters III & IV.

58. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian, pp. 163-175.

59. History of Indonesia (B. R. Chatterji), p. 7.



We learn from the inscriptions of Orissa that the Māthara kings ruled over Kaliṅga from the fourth century A.D. to the sixth century A.D. They had become the Lords of "Mahendrabhoga" centering round Mahendragiri as we learn from the Dhavalapeṭā copper plate grant.<sup>60</sup> In this context we may point out that in the opinion of Kālidāsa, who flourished almost in the same period when the Mātharas were in power, the king of Kaliṅga was not only the Lord of Mahendragiri but also the Lord of Mahodadhi (vide Raghuvamśa, Canto VI verse 54). In the words of the poet: "Asau Mahendrādri Samānasārah.

Patirmahendrasya Mahodadheścha"- The poet further imagines that his heroine would roam with the prince of Kaliṅga on the seashore where the murmuring sound of the palm trees is heard and little drops of sweat are removed by the breezes which bring cloves from the distant islands.<sup>61</sup>

If we consider that Kālidāsa had a fair knowledge of India of his times we cannot ignore this piece of information. The passage "Dvīpāntarānīta lavaṅga puspaiḥ" of Raghuvamśa appears to be very significant. In this poetic expression obviously there is an allusion to the seafaring activities of the people of Kaliṅga with the islands in the Mahodadhi (Indian Ocean) in the fifth century A.D.

Again palae-ographical similarity found in the Orissan and Javanese inscriptions of the fifth century A.D. also leads us to believe that under Mātharas Kaliṅga was the carrier of civilisation to Indonesia, A.C. Burnell<sup>62</sup> a competent authority, is of opinion that there are many inscriptions in Java which are of the same character as those of Orissan inscriptions. In fact the inscriptions Purnavarman from West Java exhibit palaeographical similarities with those of Umavarman and his successors in Kaliṅga.<sup>63</sup>

60. E. I., vol. XXVI, p. 132.

61. Vide Raghuvamśa : Canto IV, verse 57.

62. Elements of South Indian Palaeography (1878) pp. 53-56.

63. Vide Buhla's chart: O. H. R. J. vol. VI, F. 108.



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## Bāṇabhaṭṭa's account of Pearls from Manaar Straits

BY

S. V. SOHONI

There is a remarkable passage in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-Carita* in which the old notion of the formation of pearls has been stated, not without an accretion of an element of poetic fancy. Bāṇabhaṭṭa associated a romantic basis while narrating what he thought was a scientific theory.

The passage is as follows-

ekadā tu śailādudayādudayamāno vimale vāriṇi varuṇālayasya sankrāntamātmanaḥ pratibimbaṁ vilokitavān. dṛiṣṭvā ca tadā sasmāra sasmaraḥ smeragaṇḍasthalasya tāṇḍāya mukhasya mumoca ca manmathonmādamathyamanamānasaḥ svaḥ sthoapyasvasthaḥ sthaviṇyaḥ pītasakala-kumudavanaprabhā-pravāhadhavalatārābhyaṁiva locanābhyaṁ baṣpavaribindūn. atha patatstanudānvati samastānevācemurmuktāśuktayaḥ. tāsāṁ ca kuṣṭhikoṣeṣu muktaphalībhutānāvāpa tānka-athamapi rasātalanivāsī Vāsukirṇāma viṣamucāmtśah. sa ca tairmuktāphalaiḥ pātālatale-api tārāgaṇamiva darśayadbhirekāvalīmakalpayat. cakāra ca mandākinīti nāma tasyāḥ. sā ca Bhagavataḥ somasya sarvāsāmoṣadhīnāmadhipateḥ prabhāvādatyantaviṣaghnī himāmṛita-sambhavatavācca sparśena sarvasattva-santāphāriṇī babbhūva. yataḥ sa tām sarvadā viṣoṣmaśāntaye Vāsukiḥ paryadhata.<sup>1</sup>

The translation of this passage rendered by Cowell and Tomas in their edition of *Harṣa-Carita*<sup>2</sup> is as follows.

"One day, as he was rising from the Eastern mountain, he beheld his own reflection in the pure water of the ocean, and as he gazed he fondly remembered Tara's smiling face, and, stirred with passion, even though in heaven, he dropped big tears from his eyes, which were as bright as if they had drunk up the radiance of all the

1. The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa with the Commentary of Saṅkara (4th Edition), 1918, edited by K. P. Parab, p. 250.
2. The *Harṣacharita* of Bāṇa., p. 251.



lotuses. The pearl-oysters swallowed all these tears as they fell into the sea. When they had become pearls in the bellies of the oysters the king of the snakes, Vasuki, dwelling in hell, somehow became possessed of them; and he made of them a single wreath which shone even in hell like a cluster of stars; and he called it Mandakini. By the power of the holy Soma, the lord of all plants it became an antidote against all poisons, and in consequence of its having been produced from the moon which is the ever-cool fountain of ambrosia its touch relieves the pain of all creatures. Vasuki therefore always, carried it about with him to soothe the burning heat of poison."

This account of the formation of pearls was given in the context of the history of a string of pearls, obtained by Nāgārjuna from a king of Nāgas and made over by him to Trisamudrādhīpati Sātavāhana, who was his friend. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has mentioned, in this connection, that Nāgārjuna was taken to Nāgaloka by some Nāgas, before he got the string of pearls. The great significance of this part of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's narration, has been analysed by me elsewhere the—Nāgas were really inhabitants of Nāgadvīpa or the northern portion of the island of Ceylon; and king of Nāgas was the king of that part of Ceylon, whose son became Nāgārjuna's foremost disciple, Āryadeva.

The sea board, in which the pearl fishing of Ceylon is associated, is the famous Gulf or Straits of Manaar, which adjoins Nāgadvīpa.

It is interesting to note that the theory of pearl formation, mentioned by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, was also stated by the Elder Pliny<sup>3</sup>

"The first rank, and the very highest position among all valuables belongs to the pearl.....The most productive of pearls is the island of Taprobane.

"The origin and production of the shell-fish is not very different from that of the shell of the oyster. When the genial season of the year exercises its influence on the animal, it is said that yawning, as it were, it opens its shell, and so receives a kind of dew, by means of which it becomes impregnated; and that at length it gives

3. Pliny (IX, 54-8).



birth, after many struggles, to the burden of its shell, in the shape of pearls, which vary according to the quality of the dew. If this has been in a perfectly pure state when it flowed into the shell, then the pearl produced is white and brilliant, but if it was turbid, then the pearl is of a clouded colour also; if the sky should happen to have been lowering when it was generated, the pearl will be of a pallid colour; from all which it is quite evident that the quality of the pearl depends much more upon a calm state of the heavens than of the sea, and hence it is that it contracts a cloudy hue, or a limpid appearance, according to the degree of serenity of the sky in the morning..... It is wonderful that they should be influenced thus pleasantly by the state of the heavens, seeing that by the action of the sun the pearls are turned of a red colour, and lose all their whiteness, just like the human body. Hence it is that those which keep their whiteness best are the deep-sea pearls, which lie at too great a depth to be reached by the sun's rays. I have seen pearls still adhering to the shell; for which reason the shells were used as boxes for ointments."

It would be apparent that both Pliny and Bāṇabhaṭṭa have referred to the pearls of the Gulf of Manaar.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa's subsequent passage<sup>3a</sup> contains perhaps the finest eulogy of pearls in Sanskrit literature.

3a. samatīkrāmati ca kiyatyapi kāle kadāettāmekāvalim tasmānnāgarājānnā-  
gārjuno nāma nāgairevānītaḥ pālātalam bhikṣurabhikṣata lebheca. nir-  
gatyā rasātālātrisamudrādhipataye Sātavāhananāmne Narendrāya suhṛide sa  
dadau tām. sā cāsmākaṁ kālena śiṣyaparamparayā kathamapi hastamupa-  
gatā. yadyapi ca paribhava iva bhavati bhavādṛiṣāṁ dattrima upacāra-  
sthāpyośadhibuddhya bhuddhimatā sarvasattvaśaśirakṣāpravṛittena rakṣa-  
ñyaśarīrenāyusmatā viśaraksāpetkṣyā gṛīhyatām. ityabhidhāya bhikṣora-  
bhyāśavartinaścivaraṇaṭāntasaṅyatām mumoca tāmekāvalim mandākinim.

unmucyamānāyā eva yasyāḥ prabhālepi labdhāvakaṣe viśadamahasi  
mahīvasi visarpati rāsmimaṇḍale yugapaddavalāyamañeṣu diābhukhṇeṣu  
mukulitālatavadhūkaṇṭhitairāmūlādvikāśita miva tṛubhiḥ, abhinavaṇiṇāla-  
udbhairdhavitamiva dhutapakṣa puṭapaṭala-dhavalitaḡaganam vanasarasihm-  
maṣmyuthaiḥ, sphuṭita miva bharavaśaviśīryamāṇadhūlidhavalairgarbha-  
bhedaśūcitasūcīsaṇcayāśucibhiḥ ketakīvāṭaiḥ, udgalitadaladanturābhiḥ pra-  
buddhamiva kumdinibhiḥ, vidnutasitasatābhāra bharitadikcakraścalitāmiva  
kesarikulaiḥ, prahasitamiva daśanānsūmalālokalipyamānavanam vanadevatā-  
bhiḥ, vikasitamiva śithilitakusumakośakesarāṭṭa-bālapallavapariveśaśvetāya-  
mānaiścamarikadambakaiḥ, prasṛitamiva sphāyamānaphenīlatalatrataraṇa-  
godgāriṇā girinadipureṇa, apatārāgaraṇālābhamuditenoditamiva vikacamari-



According to the Periplus,<sup>4</sup> of the first century A.D., the pearls from the Gulf of Manaar, were the best in the world. Even now, they have a high reputation in the pearl trade: This should explain why Bāṇabhaṭṭa thought it necessary to prefix the reference to king Śātavāhana with his usual title of Trisamudrādhipati or the lord of the three oceans—a detail which even the author of the Periplus did not fail to mention.<sup>5</sup>

About the trustworthiness of the account in the biography of Harṣa by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the following two points are noteworthy.

(i) That it was believed to be a historical statement, is indicated by the monk himself, employing the word, *ākhyātam*”, when he explained to Harṣa, the history of the string of pearls. An ‘*ākhyāna*’ is not entirely fiction but is meant to be a basically historical account.

(ii) The acquisition of the string of pearls was about the last incident narrated by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his biography of Harṣa; and is not likely to be intended as a manifestly invented or wrong or false story. It is fairly clear that in Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s time, it was genuinely believed that the string of pearls given by the Bhikṣu to Harṣa had associations with Nāgārjuna and Śātavāhana.

cicakrākrāntakakubhā, purṇacandreṇa prakṣālita iva dāvānaladhūlidhusarita-  
adigantdivasaḥ, punariva dhautānyaśrujalakliṣṭāni nārinām mukhāni.

rājā tu māṇsalaistasyāḥ saṁmukhairmayūkhairā - kulikṭiyamāṇaṁ mu-  
hurmahurunmilayannimilyaṁśca cakṣuḥ kathamapi prayatnena dadarśa sar-  
vāśāpūraṇīm paṅktikṛitāmiva diṇnāgakaraśīkarasaṁhatīm, dhanamuktām  
śārādimiva lekḥikṛitām jyotsnām prakāṣapadakacinḥām saṁcāraṇavīthīmiva  
bālendornīścalibhūtām saptarṣimālāmiva hastamuktām abhibhūtasakalabhu-  
vanabhūṣaṇabhūtiprabhāvāmaśānimiva śaśikalām, dhavalatāguṇagrihitām  
kāntimiva nirgatām kṣīraraśeḥ, anekamahāmahibhṛityaparamparāgatām gaṇ-  
gāmiva durgatiharām anavaratasphurita taralāmśukām puraḥ sarapatākāmiva  
Maheśvarabhāgamasya, ghanasāraśuklām dantapaṅktimivābhimukha sye-  
yaḥ, nijakarapallāvāvaraṇadurlakṣyām cakṣūrāgavihasatikāmiva vasudhāyāḥ,  
mantrakośasādhana pravṛittasyākṣamātāmiva rajadharmaśya, samudrālankā-  
rabhūtām saṁkhyālekhyapaṭṭikāmiva kuberakośasya. pāśyāṁścaitām visma-  
yamājagāma mānaśā suciram.

4. Paragraph 56 in W. H. Schoff's edition.

5. Paragraph 59 in W. H. Schoff's edition.



## Muslim Education in Bihar (1854-1882)

BY

SATYANARAIN PRASAD, M. A., Ph. D.

The Despatch of 1854 laid down a very comprehensive plan for the diffusion of education among the masses. The aim of education was accepted as the diffusion of arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe. The government took some measures to implement its recommendations in Bihar. Many schools were opened. Literates were given employment. But such measures produced no effect upon the Muslims. They kept themselves aloof from the educational institutions. They hated the Britishers, who had usurped power from them and continued "their struggle against the British-if not openly, then in daily antipathies. These took the form, collectively, of antagonism to British culture and civilization, philosophy and education, everything British."

After 1857, the British made some conciliatory gestures to the Indians. Among them was a provision for the teaching of Arabic and Persian in government schools. In 1860, the Director of public Instruction directed a *moulvi* to proceed to Patna to work in the school.<sup>2</sup> Proposal was made for the establishment of an Anglo - Persian Department in the English school on the plan of the Anglo - Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrasa<sup>3</sup> with a view to bringing the influential class of Muslims at Patna within the "scope of the educational measures."<sup>4</sup> The Director asked the commissioner of the Patna Division to acquaint the wealthy Muslim inhabitants of Patna to "the liberal and benevol-

1. Talmiz Khaldun, 'The Great Rebellion', *Rebellion - 1857, — a Symposium*, p. 56.
2. From W. S. Atkinson, D. P. I. to Rivers Thompson, Jr. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, No. 1742, dated the 20th Sept., 1860.
3. From W. S. Atkinson, D. P. I. to H. D. H. Fergusson, Commissioner of Patna, No. C., Dated 8th December, 1860.
4. K. W. Progs. Nos. 13-15/Oct., 1860.



ent intentions of government towards them.”<sup>5</sup> The Muslims welcomed the establishment of the proposed Anglo-Persian Department on the model of the Calcutta Madrasa. But they suspected the motive of the government. A Muslim of very ‘considerable influence’ told the commissioner, “Sir, the fact is that the people are prejudiced against the government school, simply because they have the idea that you wish to abolish their religion, and when Tayler Sahib (in 1856), urged the Mahomedans to send their children to the government school every one was asking, why is he doing this, why should he bother himself about it, his object simply cannot be education, what good would the Education of our children do him?”<sup>6</sup> So, the Commissioner advised the government ‘to proceed quietly’<sup>7</sup>

The Director proposed a detailed plan for the “establishment” of an English High School or College at Patna with a staff of Persian Teachers sufficient to provide separate instruction for Mahomedan students in the Persian language and literature.”<sup>8</sup> To implement this scheme, he requisitioned a grant of Rs. 30,000 *per annum*. For the first year the grant was to be limited to Rs. 15,000 *per annum*. To relieve the government of extra expenditure, he suggested the abolition of the school at Russapulghah<sup>9</sup> and the transfer of the savings to the new school.<sup>9</sup>

The Lieutenant-Governor sanctioned this scheme “either in combination with the abolition of the Russapulghah school or independently.”<sup>10</sup> The Secretary of State for India hoped that the enlargement of the Patna Zila School would be “successful in obtaining scholars from Mohamedan population of the province.”

5. From W. S. Atkinson, D. P. I. to H. D. H. Fergusson, Commissioner of Patna, N. C., dated 8th Dec., 1860.
6. From H. D. H. Fergusson, Commissioner of Patna to the D. P. I., No. 17, dated 19th March, 1861.
7. *Ibid.*
8. From W. S. Atkinson, D. P. I., to J. D. Gordon, Jr. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, No. 1665, dated 3rd August, 1861.
9. The school at Russapulghah was maintained for the younger members of the Mysore family. But very few of them made any actual use of it.
9. *Ibid.*
10. From J. D. Gordon, Jr. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, No. 390, dated 17th August, 1861.



But he proposed to constitute the school at the first instance "on a small scale."<sup>11</sup>

The Muslims could not get over their prejudices against government schools and their response was not very enthusiastic. The Governor-General-in-Council regretted at their apathy and indifference towards the state system of education. So, to induce them to join government institutions recommendation was made for the introduction of their classical literature in them.<sup>12</sup> Other recommendations of the Governor-General-in-Council were the bestowal of liberal grants to Muslims for opening schools and producing vernacular literature for them.<sup>13</sup> The Secretary of State concurred generally with the policy enunciated by the government of India, provided it "did not contemplate any change in the subjects taught, but only in the mode of instruction."<sup>14</sup> The Director of Public Instruction proposed the setting up of a number of prizes for those Muslims who failed to obtain scholarships at the various examinations.<sup>15</sup>

The government of Bengal kept on trying its best to popularise education among the Muslims. Provision was made for the opening of special classes in schools for the teaching of Arabic and Persian, if there was a demand for them. Orders were issued for placing the *maktabs* at par with the *patshalas* in matter of grants. In Muslim districts preference was to be given to Muslim teachers. Arabic and Persian were included in the University course. Recommendation was made for encouraging and publishing valuable Muslim works and offering prizes for good translation of foreign works or for original studies. The Mohasin Fund was set free for the extension of education among the Muslims anywhere in Bengal.<sup>16</sup> The government placed the Madrasa under the control of a special sub-committee consisting

11. Selections from Educational Despatches, p. 170.
12. Selections from the Records of the Govt. of India, Home Department, N. CCV, Calcutta, 1886, p. 152.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-88.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 376
15. From H. Woodrow, Offg. D. P. I. to the Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, General Department, N. 3428, dated 9th August, 1872
16. Extract from the proceedings of the Govt. of India in the Home Dept. (Edn), N. 7, dated 13th June, 1873.



of the Europeans and Muslims. The superintendent of the local *madrasa* was to act as its secretary.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, special efforts were made to disseminate education among the Muslims. But the government made no discrimination in charging fees in common schools from the pupils of one religious persuasion to those of other persuasions.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, it disapproved of the idea of opening 'special schools for any particular creed or denomination.'<sup>19</sup> Thus, the government did not deviate from the policy enunciated by the Despatch of 1854.

In Bengal, a large "proportion of the sum available for scholarships" was devoted to encourage Muslim lads to join schools and colleges. The maximum amount was set apart for students studying in colleges. The scholarships were distributed as follows, 'Rs. 3,072 *per annum* was assigned for Arabic scholarship tenable in Madrasahs, Rs. 3,264 *per annum* for Senior and Juniors scholarships tenable in general colleges and Rs. 1,872 for English scholarships tenable in collegiate and branch schools in connection with the Government Madrasahs.'<sup>20</sup> Thus, the British Government had gone out of its way to attract the Muslims towards joining government schools. They were given much more monetary inducements than members of other communities. The result of this policy was soon visible and the muslim indifference to Western education began to disappear. The Muslims even proceeded to England to secure education. A Muslim gentleman of Patna, Syed Hossein obtained a scholarship as early as 1878 to prosecute his studies in England.<sup>21</sup> Another Muslim, Syed Sakhawat Hossein, obtained a scholarship worth £220 a year to prosecute his studies at an Agricultural College in England.<sup>22</sup> S. Sharfuddin, (Judge, High Court, Calcutta), Nurul Hoda, (District and Sessions Judge,

17. Resolution - By the Government of Bengal in the General Department, dated Calcutta, 29th July, 1873.

18. Resolution - General Department, Calcutta, 12th November, 1872

19. Resolution - By the Government of Bengal in the General Dept., dated Calcutta, 29th July, 1873

20. From W. S. Atkinson, D. P. I. to the Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, General Dept., N. 3050, dated Fort William, 22nd June, 1874.

21. Resolution on the Report on Public Instruction (178-79), Calcutta, 22nd Oct., 1879.

22. *Ibid.* (1880-81), General Dept., Edn., Calcutta, 19th November, 1881.



Patna), Abdul Hussain Khan (Judge Small Cause Court, Calcutta) went to England to qualify for the bar. In 1880, these gentlemen were called to the bar. S. Sharfuddin's elder brother, Syed Naseeruddin had gone to England to be qualified for the bar a few years earlier.<sup>23</sup> None of the Hindus of Bihar had dared to cross the sea till then. The first Hindu to proceed to England for education was Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha who left India in 1889.<sup>23a</sup>

The technical schools of Bihar were filled with the Muslims. Out of 193 students in the Temple Medical School at Bankipore, 141 were Muslims during 1876-77. <sup>24</sup> They also formed the majority in the Patna Survey School. Their number was 23 out of 31 in 1879-80, while that of the Hindus was <sup>25</sup>only 3. Their number was more remarkable in schools imparting elementary education, because it filled 'the requirements of the lower classes of Muslims and they readily availed themselves of its advantages.'<sup>26</sup>

But this did not satisfy the Muslims. They regarded the government's efforts 'as a mere drop in the ocean'. The National Muhammadan Association in 1882 sent a long petition to the Government of Bengal to induce it 'to adopt some effectual measures for their amelioration...'<sup>27</sup> The petition held government's measures-the Resolution of Lord William Bentinck on the use of languages in the court and the Resumption Proceeding-responsible for the decline of their educational institutions and for shutting the doors of offices for them. The petition demanded the adoption of some comprehensive measure for them, similar to one devised for the Eurasian community. It urged the government to utilise 'the existing Mussalman endowments for educational purposes.' On behalf of the Muslims of Bihar demand

23. *The Beharee*, January 22, 1907.

23a. The first Bihari to proceed to England was Sant Prasad Sinha, an A. D. C., to Maharajah of Cooch Bihar. He accompanied the Maharaja to England in 1887 to attend the Jubilee of Queen Empress. *The Kayastha Samachar*, July 1901, p. 91.

24. Report on Public Instruction (1876-77), para 278.

25. *Ibid.* (1879-80) para 301

26. Resolution - By the Government of Bengal on the Report on Public Instruction (1874-75) No. 101, Calcutta, 13th January, 1876.

27. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department No. CCV., Calcutta, 1886, pp. 237-44.



was made for the withdrawal of the order 'substituting Nagari character for the Persian in the Behar courts'. Lastly, the petition demanded the appointment of a commission 'to examine the whole question of Muslim education, and to devise a practical scheme for that purpose'.

A perusal of the fact reveals that the government was more sinned against than sinning. A enquiry in 1882 revealed that the Resumption Proceeding had little effect on the Muslims of Bihar.<sup>28</sup> Lord Bentinck's minute of 1835 was, no doubt, responsible to some extent, for their exclusion from government's offices, but this was a temporary phase.

As a result of the encouragements received by them from the government the Muslims left behind the Hindus in education as well as in government employment. They were not 'the porter, messenger' filler of inkpots, and mender of pens' in government's offices. Rather, on the other hand, they were "both higher in social scale and more enlightened by comparison with Hindus than those of Bengal"<sup>29</sup> This is why, the government while expressing its views on the education of the Muslims 'put aside Behar' where they had perhaps more than their share of appointments and good things in the gift of government."<sup>30</sup> Even the meessiah of Muslim rights and privileges, W. W. Hunter had to digest this strong meat.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the oft-repeated theory that the Muslims kept aloof from Western education and consequently did not have a fair share in higher governmental jobs stands discredited at least in the case of Bihar, and probably an intensive study may throw new light on this topic and help us to shed some of our preconceived notions.

28. From F. M. Halliday; Commissioner of the Patna Division to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No. 1083, dated Bankipore, the 30th November, 1882.

29. Report on Public Instruction (1876-77), para 278

30. Selections from the records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. CCV., Calcutta 1886, p. 171.

• • • (The Muslims maintained this position for long. During 1895-98, 12 Muslims got the executive posts against 7 Hindus. *The Behar Times*, July 15, 1898. In judicial services the posts offered to the Muslims during 1883-96 were just double that of the Hindus. V. C. P. Choudhary - *The Creation of Modern Bihar*, p. 68).

31. W. W. Hunter, *Indian Musalmans*, foot note, p. 167.



## Archaeological Sequence of the Upper Ganga Valley

BY

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The rivers Sindhu and Gaṅgā have played a very significant role in the history of Ancient India; the former has given India her name, the latter her faith.<sup>1</sup> But such was the irony of situation that even upto the beginning of the present century, there was nothing known about the archaeology of the Indus Valley. It was only in twenties, that on account of the efforts of Sir John Marshall, Daya Ram Sahani and Rakhal Das Banerji, the ruined mounds of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro opened a new vista before the archaeologists and India was placed on the chalcolithic map of the world. It could only then be realised that in ancient times, like Egypt, Mesopotamia and Elam, India also was the seat of a wonderful civilization both in dimension and grandeur. Some aspects of the Indus Valley civilization, especially religion, could be treated as the 'lineal progenitor of modern Hinduism.'<sup>2</sup>

Our knowledge about the archaeological relics of the Upper Ganga valley had been dim upto the forties of the present century. It was on account of the persistent efforts of Sri. B.B. Lal that some sketches were drawn about the archaeological sequence of this region (Upper Ganga Valley). In one of his papers,<sup>3</sup> he tried to focus the attention of the scholarly world on the importance of the Painted Grey Ware and its stratigraphic position. In another well-documented article dealing with the Copper hoards of the Ganga

1. Sir Mortimer Wheeler - *Ancient India* No. . 4, p. 2
2. Marshall, Sir John - *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilization* - vol. I, p. 77.
3. B. B. Lal - "The Painted Grey Ware of the Upper Gangetic basin : An approach to the problem of Dark-Age" : *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal (Letters)* : vol. XVI, No. 1 (1950), pp. 89 ff.



Valley,<sup>4</sup> he dealt with the problem of the authorship of the Copper-hoards and its association with the Ochre Coloured Pottery; in his report on the excavations of Hastinapur, he established the archaeological sequence of the region from bottom to top in the following manner:-<sup>5</sup>

- (i) O.R.P. - before 1200 B. C.
- (ii) Painted Grey Ware-1100 B. C. - 800 B. C.
- (iii) The Northern Black Polished Ware-600-300 B.C.
- (iv) The post NBP Pd. 200 B. C. 300 A. D.
- (v) Early Mediaeval period.

*Archaeological activities in the Upper Ganga basin after 1955*

Needless to say, much water has flowed down the Ganges since the publication of the Excavation Report of Hastinapur in 1955. The sites like Ahichhatra,<sup>6</sup> Atranji Khera,<sup>7</sup> Alamgirpur<sup>8</sup> Baragaon<sup>9</sup> Ambakheri,<sup>10</sup> etc., have since been excavated as a result of which further light has been thrown on the entire problem. Here it may be said at the outset that Lal's observations regarding the stratigraphic position of the Painted Grey Ware and the Northern Black Polished Ware have fully been confirmed by the subsequent diggings at Alamgirpur, Ahichhatra and Atranji khera though the gap said to have existed between the end of the Painted Grey Ware period and the beginning of the Northern Black Polished Ware period is no longer tenable. The gap at Hastinapur might have been on account of the desertion of the site in the Painted Grey Ware period as a result of heavy flood or lateness of the advent of the Northern Black Polished Ware at the site, the former hypothesis being more probable.

The cultural sequence of Ahichhatra<sup>11</sup> completely tallies with that of Hastinapur. Here too the Painted Grey Ware is preceded by

4. B. B. Lal - Further Copper hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem: Ancient India No. 7, pp. 20-39.
5. B. B. Lal - Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 24.
6. T. A. 1963-64, pp. 43-44; 1964-65 pp. 73-75.
7. I. A. 1960-61, p. 35; 1961-1962, p. 102; 1962-63, pp. 34-36; 1963-64, pp. 45-49; 1965-66, pp. 82-86.
8. *Ibid.* 1958-59, pp. 50-55.
9. *Ibid.* 1963-64, pp. 56-57.
10. *Ibid.* 1963-64, p. 56.
11. *Ibid.* 1964-65, pp. 73-75 (MSS copy).



Ochre Coloured Pottery but like Hastinapur no trace of any intervening culture between O.C.P. and P.G. Ware has been found. The excavations of Atranji Khera, however, assume a "vital significance at least in this respect, since it unfolds the existence of altogether a different culture sandwiched between the O.C.P. and P.G. Ware periods. The new culture in question has been characterised by the presence of plain Black and Red Ware, Black Slipped Ware and ordinary Red Ware. From point of texture and typology, the Black-and-Red Ware assemblage of Atranji Khera has nothing in common with the O. C. P. assemblage. Thus the site of Atranji Khera has the unique honour like that of Noh<sup>12</sup> (in Rajasthan) to have provided a distinct horizon to the Black-and-Red Ware culture in this region.

The excavations of Alamgirpur,<sup>13</sup> Baragaon,<sup>14</sup> Ambakheri<sup>15</sup> and Bahadarabad<sup>16</sup> have imparted some new information regarding the Late Harappan and O.C.P. cultures. These sites provide us with clue about the march of the Harappan culture in the Upper Ganga Valley and its development in an altogether different culture having only some vague similarity with the paernt culture.

*New Sequence of the Cultures in the Upper Ganga Valley:-*

From the foregoing discussions, it would appear that since the excavations at Hastinapur, two new cultures have been brought to notice in the Upper Ganga Valley, e.g., the Late Harappan culture and Black-and-Red Ware culture. Besides, our knowledge regarding the nature of the O.C.P. culture has also been increased considerably since many pottery-types have been recognized in the assemblage of the O.C.P. with their counterparts in the typical Harappan pottery assemblage.

Thus by now the traces of Late Harappan, degenerate Harappan and O.C.P., the Black and Red Ware; the Painted Grey Ware and the Northern Black Polished Ware cultures have been discovered in

12. *Ibid.* 1963-64, pp. 28-29; 1964-65 (MSS copy) pp. 64-65.

13. *Ibid.* 1958-59, pp. 54-55.

14. *Ibid.* 1963-64, pp. 56-57.

15. *Ibid.* p. 156.

16. A. I. No. 9 (1953) p. 91.



this region. In the following pages the nature of these cultures would be discussed one by one.

(i) *Late Harappan Culture*:- The discovery of the relics of the Harappan culture at Alamgirpur<sup>17</sup> (Meerut), Manpur,<sup>18</sup> Bhatpur<sup>19</sup> (in Bulandshahr), Baragaon<sup>20</sup> and Ambakheri<sup>21</sup> (in Saharanpur) has added a new chapter to our knowledge of the Harappan culture. The caravan of the Harappan culture has been brought upto the bank of the river Yamuna. In this connection it may be said for clarification that the site of Alamgirpur belongs to the late phase of the Harappan culture while the remaining ones may be treated as pertaining to the degenerate phase of the same culture complex. While the sites like Bhatpur, Manpur, Baragaon and Ambakheri have yielded the famous ochre coloured pottery, along with the Harappan pottery, the former is conspicuous by its absence at Alamgirpur. Thus it appears that while the other sites portray a picture of mixed cultures, the Alamgirpur-evidence represents the Late Harappan unadulterated. Even if the Ochre Coloured Pottery were the continuation of the Late Harappan Pottery tradition, the Alamgirpur-evidence would suggest that stage in the history of the Harappan culture when Ochre-Coloured Pottery was yet not manifested. Thus the priority of Alamgirpur in point of time over other sites is fully substantiated.

While dealing with the antiquities obtained at Alamgirpur, it may be said at the outset that the Harappan settlement at the site is marked by 'impoverished economy. unplanned settlement and degenerated tradition of art'. The grandeur of the cities of Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, Lothal, Rangpur, Kalibangar and to some extent even of Rupar has gone. Urban consciousness which is an essential part of Harappan culture is conspicuous by its absence. The excavations at the site have not yielded such a material relic on the basis of which we could discern the broad lines of the religious beliefs of the people in the Upper Ganga Valley. Whether they still worshipped Paśupati Siva and mother Goddess like their predecessors at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, cannot be ascertained

17. I. A. 1958-59, pp. 50-55.

18. *Ibid.* 1960-61, p. 66.

19. *Ibid.*

20. I. A. 1963-64, pp. 56-57.

21. *Ibid.* 1963-64, p. 56.



in the present state of our knowledge. However, much of this could be on account of the limited nature of excavation. If the site is subjected to horizontal digging over a larger area, it is just possible that some of the dark spots of our knowledge may be illuminated.

Among the cultural equipments of the Late Harappan at Alamgirpur, mention may be made of the typical Harappan pots the dish-on-stand goblet with pointed base, straight-sided dish, cylindrical vase and beaker, goblet with concave neck and elongated at the base, and shallow dish with incurved rim, shallow basin with tapering sides and a variety of rim-forms. Some of the pots bore painting executed in black pigment over a red slip. The painting motifs comprised of simple hands, triangles, squares, interesting circles, plants and peacocks.

Among the art objects, mention may be made of terracotta objects, e. g., animals (bear and humped bull), snake, cakes, carts, cubical dice along with the beads and the bangles. Bangles of faience and beads of steatite and other semiprecious stones were also found. Some utilitarian objects like chert-blade and pins and blades of copper were also obtained. Evidence about the use of cloth also was available.

The aforesaid discussion clearly indicates that the first cultural phase of Alamgirpur has its roots in the Harappan culture complex. This is well-demonstrated not only by the presence of typical Harappan shapes, but also from occurrence of Harappan terracotta animals like humped bull, chert blade, terracotta cakes, cubical dice and faience bangles.

## II. O. C. P. Culture:-

The next culture represented in the Upper Ganga Valley is that of the ochre coloured pottery. This type of pottery was first recognized by Sri B. B. Lal in 1951 at Bisauli<sup>22</sup> (Badaun district) and Rajpur Parsu<sup>23</sup> (Bijnor district). Later on, he found the sherds of this particular ware in the lowest cultural deposit

22. B. B. Lal- Further Copper-hoards in the Ganga-basin and a review of the problem, *Ancient India*, No. 7, pp. 25-26.

23. *Ibid.* p. 36.



of Hastinapur.<sup>24</sup> By now the occurrence of O. C. P. has been noticed from Bahadarabad near Hardwar to Noh near Bharatpur a distance of roughly 300 Kms. from North to South and from Katpalon near Jullundur to Ahichhatra, a stretch of 450 Kms., from West to East.<sup>25</sup> Among the sites in the Upper Ganga valley, which are associated with this pottery, mention may be made of Manpur,<sup>26</sup> Bhatpur,<sup>27</sup> in Bulandshahr district; Kajipur<sup>28</sup> Nirpalpur, Rajdhana, Sikri, Bohlai,<sup>29</sup> Bahadarabad,<sup>30</sup> Budhakhera<sup>31</sup> Janipur, Khatanli, Mandowala, Pajrana, Tharapur, Ambakheri,<sup>32</sup> Gadharona<sup>33</sup> Shikarpur, Thatanla, Nasirpur,<sup>34</sup> Mayapur, Puranpur, Aneki V,<sup>35</sup> Garh, Helampur, Satempur, Nahdul,<sup>36</sup> Salikand and Telaimala in Sharanpur; Ahichhatra.<sup>37</sup> in Bareilly: Atranjikhhera<sup>38</sup> in Etah district; Baharia<sup>39</sup> in Shahajahanpur and Sikrea<sup>40</sup> in Muzaffarnagar districts.

The Ochre coloured pottery as such seems to have been inadequately fired and it easily gets rubbed off, though this latter feature does not seem to be applicable to many pots of Atranjikhhera. On the basis of fabric the ware can be divided into two groups-ochre coloured pottery having thick fabric and that having thin fabric. The noteworthy pottery types in thick fabric comprise large troughs, bowl like lid with central knot, dish-on-stand, vase with flanged rim and oval body, ring-stand, basin with under-cut rim and vase with chord design, mat-impression and horizontally raised bands on the exterior. In the thin fabric, the noticeable types consist of long necked flask

24. B. B. Lal - Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 11.

25. Krishnadeva - Problem of ochre coloured pottery, p. 3 (Paper read in the seminar on 'Ancient Indian Potteries, held at Patna, April, 1968.

26. I. A. 1960-61, p. 66.

27. *Ibid.*

28. I. A. 1964-65 (MSS copy) p. 77.

29. *Ibid.* p. 79.

30. Ancient India, No. 9, p. 90.

31. I. A. 1964-65 (MSS copy) p. 79.

32. I. A. 1963-64, p. 56.

33. *Ibid.* p. 54.

34. I. A. 1965-66 (MSS Copy) p. 80.

35. *Ibid.* p. 81.

36. *Ibid.* p. 82.

37. I. A. 1964-65, pp. 73-74.

38. I. A. 1962-63, p. 34; 1963-64, pp. 45-47; 1965-66 (MSS Copy) pp. 82-83.

39. Author's own observation.

40. I. A. 1962-63, p. 37.



with flaring rim and flat base, lid with central knob, bowl, with slightly out-turned rim etc. It goes without saying that the ochre coloured pottery shares many a type with the Late Harappan ware of Rupar, Bara, Alamgirpur and Baragaon such as dish-on-stand, lid with central knob and chord impressed and incised decorations. The presence of terracotta figurine of humped bull, terracotta cakes and typical toy wheel cart in the ochre coloured pottery assemblage of Ambakheri<sup>41</sup> is also a significant pointer and leads one to think about the probable evolution of the O. C. P. from the Late Harappan Ware.

*OCP and Copper Hoards :-* Very intimately associated with the problem of the OCP is the problem of copper-hoards. Sri B. B. Lal was the first to hint at the probability of the association of OCP with the copper-hoards.<sup>42</sup> As the objects of the copper-hoards are chance discoveries, their association with any known ceramic industry has yet not been fully established. While dealing with this problem one should bear in mind the following points:-

(1) of the sites which have yielded copper-hoards, Rajpur Parsu, Bisauli, Bahadarabad, Nasirpur and Baharia have also yielded ochre coloured pottery;

(2) the above-mentioned sites are the single culture sites, with shallow deposit yielding exclusively the O. C; P;<sup>43</sup>

(3) a copper ring of the type familiar from Pondi and Bahadarabad has been found at Baragaon in Saharanpur district in course of excavation;<sup>44</sup>

(4) A broken anthropomorphic figure has been found in excavation from the upper most deposit of Lathal.<sup>45</sup>

The excavations conducted so far at the sites associated with ochre coloured pottery have not yielded any tangible relic on the basis of which something could be said about the economic, social and religious life of the people, much less about their aesthetic sense

41. *Ibid.* 1963-64; p. 56.

42. B. B. Lal, *op. cit.*

43. Krishna Deva - *op. cit.* p. 3.

44. *I. A.* 1963-64, pp. 56-57.

45. Y. D. Sharma - *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, Vol. I, p. 13.



No building, charcoal or hearth has yet been located at the O. C. P. sites. In this respect, the site of Ambadheri should be treated as an exception since it has yielded terracotta figurine of humped bull, toy cart-wheel and terracotta cakes. A few copper pieces attached with pot-sherds have also been found from the O. C. P. yielding horizon of Atranjikhhera.<sup>46</sup>

Archaeologists like Dr. H. D. Sankalia think that the O. C. P. is not a ceramic industry but a condition. He thinks that possibly on account of water-logging in the areas in question the pot-sherds tend to become fragile and get easily rubbed off.<sup>47</sup> However, Dr. B. B. Lal, after a careful examination of the O. C. P. sherds contends that (i) the ware is not ill fired and its red colour indicates that the firing was done at a sufficiently high temperature in an oxidising atmosphere.<sup>48</sup>

(ii) that the hypothesis of water-logging to explain the worn out weathered effect is not clear. He fails to understand why at Baragaon, the effect of water logging is exhibited only by the O. C. P. and not by the associated wares<sup>49</sup>.

Dr. Lal opines that the weathering effect on the O. C. P. might have been on account of the fact that CCP remained exposed to atmosphere for a considerable length of time, and that before this stratum was sealed by later accumulation, the pottery underwent considerable weathering as a result of prolonged exposure.

At the present state of our knowledge nothing definite can be said about the climatic condition of Upper Ganga Valley in the time of or after the OCP culture; while the thesis of water-logging would indicate considerable rainfall, the other would read the arid condition. It appears that the material examined to arrive at these divergent conclusions is not sufficient. What is required is the testing of more soil-samples and pot-sherds from different sites yielding O. C. P.

(iii) *Black and Red ware* :- the third culture of the Upper Ganga Valley is heralded by a particular ware characterised as the Black-and

46. On the basis of information received from Sri R. C. Gaur.

47. Dr. H. D. Sankalia - in *Indian Prehistory*; 1964 (Poona, 1965) p. 135.

48. Dr. B. B. Lal - *Geochronological Investigations of the Ochre coloured pottery* - Paper submitted to the Seminar on the Potteries of Ancient India, Patna, April 1968.

49. Dr. B. B. Lal - *Ibid.*, p. 4.



-Red ware. The sole site which provides a distinct horizon to this culture is that of Atranjikhera in Erah district where it is sandwiched between the OCP and P. G. ware with a break on either side. The other site which tells a similar story is that of Noh<sup>50</sup> in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan. At both the sites the ceramic industry along, with the associated ware emerges on the scene after sufficient time gap, since the pottery types represented in all these wares are not found in the preceding culture of the ochre coloured pottery.

The Black-and-Red Ware supposed to be the result of inverted firing, has been reported from many sites in India ranging extensively in space as well as in time. In Gujrat, the ware is reported from Lothal,<sup>51</sup> Rangpur<sup>52</sup>, Prabhasa<sup>53</sup> and Rojdi<sup>54</sup> in association with the typical Harappan ware or its derivatives. At Lothal, the excavator Sri Rao thinks that the ware was used by a local population before the advent of the Harappans on the scene<sup>55</sup>. In the Baras Valley in Rajasthan the Black-and-Red Ware has been obtained from Ahar<sup>56</sup> and Gilund<sup>57</sup> in the immediate post-Harappan context. The post-Harappan chalcolithic sites of central India e.g., Eran,<sup>58</sup> Navdatoli,<sup>59</sup> Kayatha,<sup>60</sup> and Manoti<sup>61</sup> have also yielded this particular ware while going still south, the ware has been found from Prakash<sup>62</sup> Chandoli,<sup>63</sup> Tekwada<sup>64</sup> and Nevasa<sup>65</sup> again in the Chalcolithic context. Nasik,<sup>66</sup> has yielded this ware along with the N.B.P. ware, while with the megaliths of south India, the Black-and-Red Ware is

50. I. A. 1963-64 p. 28; 1964-65, p. 64 (MSS Copy).

51. I. A. 1956-57, p. 15; I. A. 1957-58, 13.

52. *Ibid.* 1953-54, p. 7; 1954-55, p. 12

53. *Ibid.* 1955-56, pp. 7-8.

54. *Ibid.* 1958-59, p. 21.

55. Indian Prehistory - 1964, p. 129.

56. I. A. 1954-55, p. 14; 1955-56, p. 11.

57. *Ibid.* 1959-60, p. 41.

58. *Ibid.* 1960-61, p. 17. 1961-62, p. 25; 1962-63, p. 11.

59. Drs. Sankalia, Subbarao and others: Excavations at Mahesvar and Navdatoli 1952-53 (Poona, 1958 Baroda) p. 64.

60. I. A. 1964-65 (MSS Copy) p. 32.

61. *Ibid.* 1959-60, p. 25.

62. Ancient India. Nos. 20 and 21, p. 11.

63. Drs. S. B. Deo and Ansari - Chalcolithic Chandoli (Poona, 1965) pp. 47, 53.

64. I. A. 1956-57, p. 18.

65. Drs. Sankalia, S. B. Deo and others: From History to Prehistory at Nevasa, p. 211.

66. Wheeler: Early India and Pakistan, p. 116.



an essential feature. The ware survives even in the *sātvāhana* levels where it is found along with the russet coated ware. The chalcolithic-megalithic site of Kokoria<sup>67</sup> on the Chandraprabha in the Vindhya has also yielded the Black-and-Red Ware sherds in good number. In Rajasthan, Punjabi Suba, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh, the plain Black-and-Red ware has been obtained from almost all the sites which have yielded the Painted Grey Ware. However, for clarity and precision, the Black-and-Red Ware of the Ganga Valley right from Meerut in Western Uttar Pradesh to Burdwan in the Western Bengal can be classified in different groups such as:-

(i) Plain Black-and-Red Ware from pre P. G. Ware horizon-Atranjikhara;

(ii) Plain Black-and-Red Ware from the painted grey ware or N.B.P. horizon Alamgirpur<sup>68</sup>, Hastināpur<sup>69</sup> Atranjikhara,<sup>70</sup> Sonkh (Mathura),<sup>71</sup> Srāvasti<sup>72</sup> and Kauśāmbī<sup>73</sup> Mason<sup>74</sup> etc.;

(iii) Painted Black-and-Red Ware from Pre-N.B.P. horizon-Rajghat,<sup>75</sup> Kauśāmbī<sup>76</sup> (in Uttar Pradesh), Chirand<sup>77</sup> (in Bihar) and Pandu Rajan Dhibi<sup>78</sup> (in West Bengal).

From the aforesaid discussion it emerges that the Black-and-Red Ware is widely distributed in India. Thus its occurrence has been noticed from Rupar in the North to Brahmagiri<sup>79</sup> in the South and from Rangpur in the West to Pandu Rajardhibi in the East. The ware is reported even from outside India, e.g., in Pre dynastic Egypt where it is described as the Black-Topped Ware. The recent excavations

67. I. A. 1962-63, p. 41; 1963-64 p. 57.

68. Ibid. 1958-59, p. 54.

69. B. B. Lal : Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 11 and 44.

70. I. A. 1962-63, p. 34; 1963-64, p. 49.

71. Bulletin of Museum and Archaeology (Lucknow, 1968) No. 1, p. 8.

72. I. A. 1958-59, p. 48.

73. G. R. Sharma : Excavation at Kauśāmbī—1957-59 (Alla' abad, 1960) p. 59.

74. I. A. 1964-65 (MSS Copy) p. 76; 1965-66 (MSS Copy) p. 92.

75. Ibid. 1962-63, p. 41; 1963-64, p. 56.

76. G. R. Sharma : *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

77. I. A. 1962-63 p. 6, 1963-64, p. 6.

78. Ibid. 1961-62, pp. 61-62; 1962-63, p. 43; 1963-64, p. 62; 1964-65 (MSS Copy) p. 85.

79. Ancient India, No 4 p. 208.



of Sri B.B. Lal at Nubia<sup>80</sup> (in Egypt) have also yielded this ware, going to high antiquity.

Viewed against this background, the Black and Red Ware poses some significant problems:-

i) whether the Black-and-Red Ware of different regions and different periods has any genetic relationship with one another;

ii) Whether the Black-and-Red Wares of different regions have been manufactured on the same technique;

iii) whether the technique has been developed in India independently or borrowed from Egypt.

Though at the present state of our knowledge no definite answer can be provided to the aforesaid queries, it is hoped that future research would throw welcome light on the subject. In this respect significant work is being done by Dr. G. G. Mazumdar.

Among the wares associated with Black-and-Red Ware of Atranjikhhera, mention may be made of Black-slipped, Grey, Red slipped as well as Plain Red Wares.<sup>81</sup> The dominant shapes in the Black-and-Red Ware group are those of dishes and bowls. The clay used appears to have been well-levigated and the fabric is definitely fine. Uptil now, no painted Black-and-Red Ware sherd has been found from Atranjikhhera.

Among the other antiquities unearthed from the black-and-Red Ware horizon mention may be made of a few copper objects, carnelian beads, a lone comb, and small flakes and cores of chalcedony and agate of undeciphered purpose.<sup>82</sup>

Whether the people using the Black-and-Red Ware at Atranjikhhera used to live in mud houses or in huts, is yet to be determined. No house plan has been obtained. This might be on account of the very limited area of excavation.

About the religious beliefs and practices of the people nothing could be said. The excavator feels that one of the objects of the

80. I A. 1961-62, pp. 69-70.

81. Ibid. 1963-64, p. 47.

82. Ibid. 1963-64, p. 47.



shape of hearth might have been a sacrificial pit, though in the absence of detailed information, this may remain as a hypothetical one.

Whether people used microlithic tools or not cannot be determined since no finished tool has yet been obtained. They definitely knew the use of copper.

The finds of beads and comb are the only aids to visualise the aesthetic sense of the people. As no terracotta or sculpture object has been found, we cannot form an idea about the art tradition of the people.

Whether the people were agriculturist, or there was still a food-gathering economy cannot be determined in the absence of relevant data. We still grope in darkness about the fauna familiar to the people.

Finally, the question of authorship of the Black-and-Red-Ware is also highly complicated. If it is proved that Black-and-Red Wares of Egypt and Lothal have been manufactured on one and the same technique, we would say that the Harappans or rather pre-Harappans of Gujrat had borrowed the technique of producing this particular ware either directly from the Egyptians or from some other source which is still unknown to us. At the present state of our knowledge this theory has only hypothetical value, not more, nor less. However, if it is said that the ware in India came with the immigration of megalithic folk somewhere in 3rd millennium B. C. and the Harappans of Lothal borrowed it from them, we have to locate megaliths in Western India-going to very high antiquity. The archaeological excavations and explorations conducted in the regions of Gujrat and Saurashtra have yet not revealed any trace of the megalithic culture going back to that period.

Recently, an attempt has been made to equate the Painted Black-and-Red Ware culture of Ahar, popularly known as the Banas culture, with the first wave of Aryan immigration.<sup>83</sup> The Radio-carbon-determinations suggest that the copper-age culture of Ahar emerged

83. Agrawal, D. P. C<sup>14</sup> Dates, Banas culture and the Aryans, Current Science March, 15, 1966, 35, No. 5, p. 116.



sometime in 1800 B.C.,<sup>84</sup> a time when the Harappan culture came to an end. The closeness of the area occupied by the Harappan and Banas cultures is also supposed to be a significant pointer. Two strains in the Banas culture, one with West Asian affiliation and other Harappan, have also been noticed. It is argued that the Banas culture people were responsible for the destruction of the Harappan cities.<sup>85</sup> Banasian affiliation with Troy and Anau also tends to associate them with the early Aryans.<sup>86</sup> The discovery of Black-and-Red ware in the Upper Ganga Valley in the pre-Painted Grey Ware context, in the Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in pre-N.B.P. Ware context, in Malwa in Chalcolithic context appears to be not without some significance. In the defences built at Kauśāmbī, we find an echo of the Harappan defence complex.<sup>87</sup> The evidence of Kauśāmbī, as has rightly been remarked, suggests that by the time the Aryans reached Kauśāmbī, they had become fully conversant with the urban life. However, the association of the Black-and-Red Ware with early Aryan settlements in Rajasthan, Central India and Gangetic Doab may not lead one to the conclusion that the Aryans were responsible for the introduction of this ware in India, since the ware as such was known to the Mature Harappans of Lothal. At the present state of our knowledge the only plausible inference to be drawn is that the early Aryans after entering India and destroying the Harappan cities, might have picked up this particular ware from the vanquished. Anyhow, the association of Black-and-Red Ware with the early settlements of the Aryans in Rajasthan, Central India and Gangetic Doab is not unlikely, though some more data are needed to make it an established fact.

(iv) *The Painted Grey Ware Culture Complex*: The fourth culture of the Upper Ganga Valley which succeeds the Black-and-Red Ware culture is characterised by the presence of a particular type grey coloured pottery which often bears paintings executed in black pigment. Hence the ware as such is designated as the Painted Grey Ware and the culture as the Painted Grey Ware Culture complex.

84. *Ibid.* p. 115.

85. *Ibid.* p. 116.

86. *Ibid.* p. 115.

87. G. R. Sharma: *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī. 1957-59. Defences and Syena Chiti* (Allahabad, 1960) p. 10.



The ware has a fine to medium grained light grey core, with the surface varying in shade from ashy to darkish grey.<sup>88</sup> The grey colour of pottery is supposed to be the result of its being under reducing condition in the kiln.<sup>89</sup> The clay used for manufacturing the pots is well-levigated and devoid of any sort of impurity. The backing of the pots is perfect. Most of the pots have been produced on wheel, though the hard-made specimens are also met with. The nature of marks on the pots suggests that they were produced on fast wheel.

The shapes so far known in the Painted Grey Ware fabric are bowls and dishes with (1) straight, (2) convex, (3) carinated, (4) tapering and outgoing, and (5) ledged or corrugated sides with round or sagger base.

The pots have the painting designs usually in black pigment, but sometimes chocolate or brown colours have also been used instead. The painting work has been done directly over the grey surface. There is a unique specimen having the designs in reddish brown and cream. A careful observation reveals that the painting was executed on the pots when they were dry and ready for firing. The painting motifs consist of simple horizontal band round the rim both inside and outside; groups of vertical, oblique or crisscross lines usually on the outer surface, rows of dots and dashes or dots alternating with simple lines; chain of small spirals on the outside; concentric circles or semi-circles, sigmas or swastikas either on the outside or on the interior of the base; rows of scalloped patterns, imitating a rising sun bordering concentric circles; rows of circular wavy lines and, rows of chains bordering a circle.

Besides the Painted Grey Ware, discussed above, there are other wares also present in the pottery assemblage, e.g., the medium grained grey ware, with paintings in deep chocolate colour, black slipped ware, supposed to be the precursor of the famous Northern Black polished ware, Black-and-Red Ware, supposed to be the result of invested firing and finally the red ware occasionally with fine bright slip.<sup>90</sup>

88. B. B. Lal : The Painted Grey ware of the Upper Gangetic Basin J. R. A. S. B. (Letters) Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1950, p. 90.

89. B. B. Lal : Excavations at Hastinapur and other Explorations in the upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins. *Ancient India*, No. 10-11 (1954-55), p. 11.

90. *Ibid.* p. 11 and 14.



The distribution map of the Painted Grey Ware provides an interesting reading. Though originally noticed at Ahichhatra,<sup>91</sup> the occurrence of the ware has been reported from Hastinapur<sup>92</sup> (Meerut district), Rupar<sup>93</sup> in Ambala District of Punjab Suba, Purana Quila<sup>94</sup> of New Delhi, Tilpat,<sup>95</sup> Baghpat,<sup>96</sup> Mathura,<sup>97</sup> Kannauja,<sup>98</sup> in the first cultural period at Srāvastī,<sup>99</sup> in the second cultural period of Kauśāmbī<sup>100</sup> in the third cultural period of Atranjikhhera<sup>101</sup> in Etah District, in the basal layers of Sohagaura<sup>102</sup> in Gorakhpur District and in the defences of Ujjayini.<sup>103</sup> The ware has got its strongest concentration in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab; the author himself along with Sri. B. B. Misra collected a good number of the painted grey ware sherds from the sites like Noorpur Khera, Jalalabad and Nigohi in District Shahajahanpur. Occasionally the sherds of painted Grey Ware have been found as far south as Ujjayini in Madhya Pradesh, Chosla<sup>104</sup> and Gondi<sup>105</sup> near Ajmer and Jaipur in Rajasthan while in the Bikaner District on the dried banks of the Sravasti and Drisdvati, Sri. A. Ghosh noticed a number of Painted Grey Ware settlements<sup>106</sup> Outside India the sherds of this ware are reported from Thesally in Greece, Shahi-Tepe, and Seistan in Iran<sup>107</sup> and the second cemetery of Shahi-Tump in Baluchistan.

Owing to small-scale excavations at Hastinapura, Ahichhatra, Rupar, Alamgirpur and Atranjikhhera, no detailed picture of the different aspects of the life of the people could be obtained.

91. Ancient India; No. 1, 1946, pp. 58-59.
92. *Ibid.* Nos. 10 and 11, 1954-55, p. 13.
93. I. A. 1953-54, p. 6.
94. The same as Indrapat or Indraprastha; See Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11.
95. Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 141.
96. *Ibid.* p. 138.
97. I. A. 1954-55, p. 15; Ancient India; No. 10 & 11, p. 140.
98. I. A. 1955-56, p. 19.
99. *Ibid.* 1958-59, p. 48.
100. Sharma, G. R. *op. cit.*, p. 58.
101. I. A. 1962-63, p. 34; 1963-64, pp. 45, 49; 1965-66 (MSS Copy) pp. 82, 85.
102. *Ibid.* 1961-62, p. 56.
103. *Ibid.* 1956-57, p. 20.
104. *Ibid.* 1958-59, p. 45.
105. *Ibid.* p. 12.
106. A. Ghosh: The Rajaputana Desert-its archaeological aspect, Bulletin of National Institute of Sciences of India, No. 1 (1952) pp. 37-42.
107. B. B. Lal, Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 147.



However, the limited excavations themselves suggest that the people lived in the house built of mud, mud-bricks and reed covered with mud-a fact which is indicated by the occurrence of the burnt clot of earth with reed-impressions.<sup>108</sup>

About the food - habit of the people though much cannot be said in the present state of our knowledge, the available evidence indicates that they used to take leaf and rice.<sup>109</sup>

The animal - world familiar to the people consists of humped cattle, sheep, pig, etc. The charred - bones of these animals with definite cut-marks have been obtained from the Painted Grey Ware level of Hastinapur. The finds of the bones of ox and buffalo indicate that cattlebreeding was one of the occupations of the people; agriculture and hunting seem to have been other occupations. Significantly enough, bones of horse have been obtained from the Painted Grey Ware. The fact indicates that the early settlers using the Painted Grey Ware were familiar with this animal.

The excavations conducted at the Painted Grey Ware sites reveal that the people were not devoid of aesthetic sense. In this connection mention may be made of terracotta animals, disc, feeding cup, pendant and stamp, the beads of semi-precious stones and glass-bangles. The secret of copper-metallurgy was known to the people. Previously it was thought that in its later stage, the Painted Grey Ware people acquired the knowledge of iron-a hypothesis which was put forward on the basis of non-occurrence of iron at Rupar and the occurrence of lump of iron ore and stages only from the upper-most levels of the Painted Grey Ware settlement of Hastinapur. However, much water has flowed down the Ganga since the excavations of Hastinapur and Rupar. The excavations conducted at Alamgirpur,<sup>110</sup> Kausambi,<sup>111</sup> Atrajikhera<sup>112</sup> Ahichhatra<sup>113</sup> and Noh<sup>114</sup> have revealed the exist-

108. *Ibid.* p. 13.

109. *Ibid.* p. 14.

110. I. A. 1958-59, pp. 50.

111. Sharma, G. R. *op. cit.* p. 13.

112. I. A. 1962-63, p. 34; 1963-64, pp. 47-48; 1965-66 (MSS copy) p. 85.

113. *Ibid.* 1963-64, p. 43.

114. *Ibid.* 1964-65 (MSS copy) p. 65.



ence of iron-objects right from the earliest levels associated with the Painted Grey Ware. A radio-carbon determination from the mid-phase of the Painted Grey Ware level of Atranjikhhera, has yielded a date going back to  $1025 \text{ Bc} \pm 110^{115}$  indicating thereby that the people using this ware had become familiar with iron at least in 1100 B. C. if not earlier.

'Undoubtedly, the Painted Grey Ware occupies a very significant position in the archaeology of the Uppar Ganga Valley, since it promises the unfolding of an unknown facet of our culture. Still we know very little indeed about the people who introduced this ware; while attempting the problem of the authorship of the Painted Grey Ware, one has to bear the following facts in mind:-

(i) that in Indian Republic, the ware is found in Rajasthan, the Punjabi Suba, Haryana and the Western Uttar Pradesh, its heaviest concentration being in the Upper Ganga Valley. In these regions, the quality of the ware is superior and the paintings executed are bold, but as one moves eastwards, one finds the ware gradually degenerating and reaching a stage when it becomes almost unrecognisable;

(ii) that a large number of the Painted Grey Ware sites such as Hastinapur, Barnava, Ahichhatra, Kāmpil etc' are also associated with the story of the Mahābhārata.<sup>116</sup>

(iii) that Hastinapur, Ahichhatra and Kāmpil were the capitals of the Pauravas, and North and South Pāṇchālas, who formed a part of the Early Aryan stock in India ;

(iv) that the identification of the flood - level at Hastinapur terminating the Painted Grey Ware settlement gives credence to the story of the Purāṇas pertaining to the occurrence of flood at the site in the region in the period of Nichakshu, the fifth descendant of Parikshita;

(v) that the date of the Mahābhārata battle falls within Painted Grey Ware period of Hastinapur.<sup>117</sup>

115. Agrawal, D. P. and others: Radio Carbon Dates of Archaeological Samples, Current Science, 33, No. 9 (May 5, 1964) p. 267.

116. B. B. Lal: Excavations at Hastinapur and other explorations: Ancient India, Nos 10-11, p. 150.

117. Ibid. p. 151.



On the basis of the above considerations, it appears that the Painted Grey Ware might have been associated with the Aryans; whether it evolved from the local wares, or was introduced in India from outside is another point which deserves the attention of the archaeologists. Sri B. B. Lal thinks that the ware would have been introduced in India by the Aryans coming from Western Asia.<sup>118</sup> In this connection he refers to the sites like Tsani, Tsangli and Zerila in Thesally, Shae-Tepe, to the South of Lake Urmia and Seistan in Iran which have produced wares similar to the Painted Grey Ware.<sup>119</sup> These sites from Greece to Seistan *via* Iran are assignable very broadly to the second millennium B.C. Further more, he refers to the Boghaz-Koi inscription which records the names of the Aryan deities like Indra, Varuna, Mitra and Nāsātya, meaning thereby the arrival of the Aryan people in Western Asia in fourteenth century B. C. However, against the background of these considerations, one has to keep in mind the following points also:-

(i) The Painted Grey Ware sites of the Punjabi Suba, Haryana, Rajasthan and Western Uttar Pradesh have also yielded the plain Black-and-Red Ware and the Black Slipped Ware which is supposed to be the precursor of the famous Northern Black Polished ware.

(ii) The Plain Black-and-Red Ware and Black slipped Ware have been given independent horizon by the excavations of Atranjikhhera in Etah District of the Western Uttar Pradesh and Noh in South Rajasthan.

(iii) The fundamental types of the Painted Grey Ware, e. g., the bowls and dishes are present in the Black-and-Red Ware assemblage of Atranjikhhera and Noh.

(iv) The excavations of Noh and Atranjikhhera demonstrate the priority of the Black-and-Red Ware and Black - slipped Ware over the Painted Grey Ware in point of time.

Do the above mentioned points suggest the evolution of the Painted Grey Ware out of the assemblage of the Black-and-Red Ware and Black slipped Ware? Of course in the present state of

118. *Ibid.* p. 150.

119. *Ibid.* p. 147.



our knowledge, the point should not be over emphasised. Intensive archaeological exploration in the Baluchistan and Western Punjab portion of the Western-Pakistan is a desideratum for giving the final answer to the problem.

V. *The N. B. P. Ware Culture:* The fifth cultural phase of the Upper Ganga Valley is heralded by the appearance of the famous Northern Black Polished Ware. Made of well-levigated clay, the ware is well fired and gives a metallic sound. Though usually jet-black or steel blue in colour sometimes pieces having chocolate or orange have also been found. The instances of the double colour technique, one for the inside and the other for the outside have also been noticed. The frequent peeling off the slip of this ware suggests, that the pots might have been fired more than once.<sup>120</sup> Some of the earliest specimens of this ware are painted with rim-bands, oblique lines on the body, arches, triangles and other complex motifs in chocolate, reddish, yellow and steel black colour or a lustrous black, silver or shining yellowish red surface.<sup>121</sup> The continued existence of the Painted Grey Ware in the periods of the Northern Black Polished Ware and the occasional similarity in the painting motifs of the two suggest the influence of the painting tradition of the former on the latter.<sup>122</sup> Besides the paintings, the other decorations on the pots of the ware include rosette, or concentric raised bands or dots in a circle with spokes.<sup>123</sup>

The shapes met in this ware are:-

(1) bowls, (2) dishes, (3) lids (4) vases (5) spouted vessels etc.

In addition to the Northern Black Polished Ware, which may be regarded as the deluxe ware of the period, the people also used the Plain Grey Ware and utilitarian Plain Red Ware.<sup>124</sup>

Uptil now, the northern Black Polished Ware has been obtained from most of the ancient sites of the Central and Upper Ganga

120. B. K. Thapar : *Ancient India*, No. 10.11, p. 51.

121. G. R. Sharma : *op. cit.* p. 59.

122. *Ibid.* p. 59.

123. B. K. Thapar : *op. cit.* p. 51.

124. B. K. Thapar : *op. cit.*, p. 52.



Valley, with concentration in the former. Among the prominent sites associated with this ware, mention may be made of Kauśāmbi,<sup>125</sup> Jhunsi,<sup>126</sup> Rājghat,<sup>127</sup> Sonapur,<sup>128</sup> Chirand,<sup>129</sup> Buxur,<sup>130</sup> Sohagaura,<sup>131</sup> Vaiśālī,<sup>132</sup> Rajgir,<sup>133</sup> Śrāvastī,<sup>134</sup> and Kumrahar<sup>135</sup> in Central Ganga Valley and Hastinapur,<sup>136</sup> Ahichhatra,<sup>137</sup> Baghapt,<sup>138</sup> Atranjikhara,<sup>139</sup> Barnava,<sup>140</sup> Indrapat, and Kāmpilya in the Uppar Ganga Valley. Among the peripheral sites, Charsada<sup>141</sup> near Peshawar, Udgram<sup>142</sup> in swat Valley, Taxila<sup>143</sup> Telaura Kot<sup>144</sup> in Nepalese Tarai, prabhāsa Patan<sup>145</sup> in Kathiawar on the Western Coast, Chandrakhetgarh<sup>146</sup> Banagarh<sup>147</sup> and Tamluk<sup>148</sup> in the East and Chebrelu<sup>149</sup> in South are worth noting. However, unlike the Painted Grey Ware, the northern Black Polished ware appears to

125. G. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 and 59.
126. Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 10 and 11, p. 144.
127. I. A. 1957-58, p. 50; 1960-61, p. 37; 1961-62, p. 58; 1962-63, p. 41; 1964-65 (MSS copy), p. 80.
128. Ibid. 1956-57, p. 19; 1959-60, p. 14; 1960-61, p. 5; 1961-92, pp. 4-5.
129. Ibid. 1962-63, p. 6; 1963-64, p. 8; 1964-65, (MSS copy) p. 13.
130. Ibid. 1963-64, p. 8; 1965-66, (MSS copy) p. 21.
131. Ibid. 1961-62, p. 56.
132. Krishnadeva and Vijayakant: Vaiśālī Excavations, pp. 3, 5-6, 16-18 I. A. 1957-58, p. 11; 1958-59, p. 12; 1959-60, p. 16, 1960-61, p. 6; 1961-62, pp. 5-6.
133. Ancient India, No. 7 (1951), p. 66.
134. I. A. 1958-59, pp. 47-48.
135. A. S. Altekar: Kumrahar Excavations (Patna, 1959) pp. 18-19, 59.
136. Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 50-51.
137. Ibid. No. 1, pp. 55-56; I. A. 1963-64, pp. 43-44; 1964-65 (MSS Copy) pp. 73-74.
138. Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 144.
139. I. A. 1962-63, p. 24; 1963-64, p. 49; 1965-66 (MSS Copy), pp. 85-86.
140. Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 144.
141. Wheeler: Early India and Pakistan, p. 31.
142. Ibid.
143. Marshall: Taxila (Cambridge, 1951) Vol. II. p. 432; Ancient India, No. 1, p. 56.
144. I. A. 1961-62, pp. 73-74.
145. Ibid. 1956-57, p. 17.
146. I. A. 1956-57, p. 30; 1957-58, p. 51; 1959-60, p. 51; 1960-61, p. 39; 1961-62, p. 62; 1962-63, p. 46; 1963-64, p. 63; 1965-66 (MSS Copy), p. 111.
147. K. G. Goswami: Excavations at Banagarh, p. 27.
148. Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 145.
149. Ibid. Nos. 20 and 21, p. 73.



have originated and developed in Central Ganga Valley and from this region its diffusion in different directions has taken place.

The excavations of the Northern Black Polished Ware levels have provided useful data for reconstructing the different aspects of the life of the people of these distant times. In this period, the houses of the burnt bricks were fairly built. Proper arrangements for sanitation were provided through the ring-walls, soakage jars and the other vertical and horizontal drains.

Though known previously, the use of iron was popularised in this period. The same statement applies well to the system of coinage also. The uninscribed cast copper coins and the punch-marked coins, both in silver and copper, have been found in profusion from the levels of the N.B.P. ware. Needless to say, the popularisation of the coinage must have gone a long way in augmenting the trade and commerce of the period,<sup>150</sup> a fact which is fully supported by the early Buddhist literature.

In the field of art considerable progress is displayed. The terracotta figurines, human as well as animal, have been found in good number from the deposits pertaining to the period of the N.B.P. Ware. The beads, triangles and rings seem to have been profusely used by the people.

Thus, the Northern Black Polished Ware culture represents a life of grandeur, prosperity and progress. It saw the efflorescence of the second urban revolution in India. It was the age of great cities like Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī, Rājgiri, Champā, Taxila and Ujjayini. It was in this period that the knowledge of iron and coinage was popularised, while the art of writing saw its rebirth after a gap of more than one thousand years.

To recapitulate on the basis of the above discussions, five different cultures in the Upper Ganga Valley have been traced. From the earliest to the N.B.P. Ware culture they are as follows:

1. The late Harappan culture of Alamgirpur;
2. The degenerate Harappan and Ochre coloured pottery

<sup>150</sup>. B. B. Lal: Ancient India, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 16.



- culture of Bhartpur, Manpu, Baragaon, Ambakheri, Bahadarabad, Rajpur Parsu, Bisauli and other sites;
3. The Black-and-Red Ware culture of Atranjikhhera;
  4. The Painted Grey Ware culture, heavily concentrated in Western Uttar Pradesh; and finally
  5. The N.B.P. Ware culture with strong focus in the Central Ganga Valley.

*Chronology:* The last relevant point, though not least in significance, is the chronology of the cultures discussed above. Here it may be said at the outset that our information pertaining to the chronology of these cultures is far from perfection. The data at our disposal are incomplete. In the absence of any firm basis, we have often to grope in darkness. Under the circumstances whatever is being said in the following pages is provisional subject to revision or modification in the light of the future researches. Circumscribed, as we are, we have to proceed from the known to the unknown. We have two almost fixed points—one regarding the end of the Harappan culture and other regarding the end of the N.B.P. Ware. We have to adjust the dates of the cultures lying between these points in the light of occupational thickness and associated finds of these cultures.

While starting with the first fixed point of the bracket, e.g., the end of the Harappan culture one finds that though previously Sir Mortimer Wheeler<sup>151</sup> and Piggott<sup>152</sup> had proposed 1500 B.C. as the terminal point of the Harappan culture, the radio carbon determination pertaining to the Harappan sites of Sind, Gujrat and Northern Rajasthan tell a slightly different story. These suggest that Harappan culture in this vast region died out earlier than supposed so far. In the light of C-14 dates Sri Dharmapal has pleaded for a shorter chronology of Harappan culture e.g., 2350 B.C. 1750 B.C.<sup>153</sup> Thus in all likelihood it appears that the Alamgirpur evidence of the Late Harappan culture may not be earlier than 1750 B.C.

Contrary to the end of the Harappan culture, the radiocarbon determinations have extended the upper limit of the N.B.P. Ware.

151. Wheeler: *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 93 and 99.

152. Stuart Piggott: *Prehistoric India*, p. 144.

153. Agrawal, D. P.: 'Harappa Culture: New Evidence for Shorter Chronology' *Science*, Feb. 28, 1964 vol. 143, No. 3609, pp. 950-952.



Previously in the light of cumulative evidence from Taxila, Hastinapur and Kauśāmbī, it was believed that the N.B.P. Ware came to an end in 3rd C.B.C.<sup>154</sup> Later on the excavations at Kauśāmbī indicated the survival of the ware even in the subsequent centuries. Thus according to the chronology adopted in the pages of 'The excavations of Kauśāmbī 1957-59', the excavator fixed 45 B.C. as the period of the end of the N.B.P. Ware at the site.<sup>155</sup> However the radio carbon determination from Kauśāmbī in Allahabad District and Hetimpur in Varanasi District suggest that the Northern Black Polished Ware continued to be used upto the 1st century A.D.<sup>156</sup>

Now beginning with the 1st century A.D. as the closing date for the Northern Black Polished Ware, let us proceed backward towards Pre christian era in order to determine the initial point of this ware. The combined testimony of the evidence of Taxila, Kauśāmbī and Hastinapur suggests that the ware would have originated some time in 600 B.C.<sup>157</sup> The validity of this date has, however, been disputed by some leading archaeologists like D.H. Gordon<sup>158</sup> and Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who prefer a date sometime in 4th or 5th century -B.C.<sup>159</sup>. The radio-carbon dates received so far from the N.B.P. Ware yielding horizon at Rupar<sup>160</sup>, Hastinapur<sup>161</sup>, Ahichhatra<sup>162</sup>, Atranjikhhera<sup>163</sup>, Kauśāmbī,<sup>164</sup> Rajghat<sup>165</sup>, Ujjayini<sup>166</sup>, Kayatha and Besanagar<sup>167</sup> have also not indicated any date earlier than 5th century B.C. for the emergence of this ware. However, in the absence of any

154. Lal, B. B. — *Ancient Indi*, Nos. 10 and 11, p. 23.

155. Sharma, G. R. — *The Exavations at Kausambi, 1957-59* (Allahabad, 1960) pp. 20 and 22.

156. Thapar, B. K. — *Ancient India*, No. 20 and 21, p. 74.

157. Lal, B. B. — *Ancient India*, No. 10 and 11, p. 23.

158. Gordon, D. H. — *Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, p. 166.

159. Wheeler : *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 31.

160. Agrawal, D. P. and others — *In Current Science*, 34, No. 13 (July 1965), p. 5.

161. Agrawal, D. P. and others — 'Radio Carbon Dates of Archaeological Samples' *Current Science*, 33, No. 2 (January 1964) p. 41.

162. Agrawal D. P. and others — *In Current Science*, 35, No. 1 (January 1966) :

163. Agrawal, D. P. and others — Radio Carbon Dates of Samples from N. B. P. and Pre N. B. P. levels — *Current Science*, 35, No. 1 (January 1966).

164. Agrawal and others — *In Current Science*, 34, No. 13 (July 1965), p. 5.

165. Agrawal, D. P. and others — *op. cit.* (January 1966).

166. Agrawal, D. P. and others — *C14 Date list*, July 1967, p. 2.

167. Agrawal, D. P. and others — *op. cit.* (July 1965) p. 5 and also in *Current Science* (June 5 1966), 35, No. 11, p. 1.



C-14 dates coming from the earliest N.B.P. Ware yielding horizon from Kausambi, 600 B.C. may still be regarded as the starting point in the history of the Northern Black Polished Ware.

About the chronology of the Painted Grey Ware—the immediately preceding culture of the N.B.P. ware, we have to keep the following facts in mind:

(I) That many pottery types, painting motifs along with the actual sherds of the Painted Grey Ware are found in the early levels associated with the N.B.P. Ware.

(II) That the black-and-Red Ware, Black Slipped Ware and the Plain Grey Ware of the N. B. P. Ware yielding horizons are to be traced back in the Painted Grey Ware assemblage.

(III) The excavations conducted at the sites like Atranjikhhera,<sup>168</sup> Noh,<sup>169</sup> Ahichhatra,<sup>170</sup> Śrāvastī<sup>171</sup>, and Kauśāmbī<sup>172</sup>, do not indicate stratigraphic gap between the end of the Painted Grey Ware and the emergence of the Northern Black Polished ware.

On the basis of the above considerations, the idea of any time gap which was previously considered to have existed between the end of the P.G. Ware and the beginning of the N.B.P. Ware is no longer tenable. On the contrary, it appears that the Painted Grey Ware period was some sort of dress-rehearsal for the emergence of N.B.P. Ware.

Now if the 6th century B.C. was the terminal point of the P.G. Ware culture, we have to trace out its beginning in the Upper Ganga Valley. Here at the outset it may be confessed that the enquiry is crowded with difficulties in the absence of datable material. The thesis of Lal pushing back the introduction of the ware in 1100 B.C. at least at Hastinapur has been challenged by Gordon<sup>173</sup> and Wheeler<sup>174</sup> on archaeological considerations and recently by D.P.

168. I. A. 1963-64, p. 49; 1965-66 (MSS Copy), p. 85

169. Ibid. 1963-64, p. 28; 1964-65, pp. 64-65.

170. Ibid. 1963-64, p. 43.

171. Ibid. 1958-59, pp. 47-48.

172. Sharma, G. R. — *op. cit.* p. 59.

173. Gordon, D. H. *Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, p. 168.

174. Wheeler — *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 28, but in his recent work 'The Civilization of the Indus valley and beyond' he brings the beginnings to 1000 B. C.



Agrawal<sup>175</sup> on the consideration of radio-carbon determinations. The correctness of the postulated gap of 200 years between the two wares—the P. G. Ware and the N. B. P. Ware has rightly been questioned. As the evidence stands, the beginning of the P.G. Ware at Hastinapur can hardly be traced back to 11th century B.C. However, the significance of the radio carbon dates from Atranjikhhera and Noh can hardly be ignored while determining the antiquity of the P.G. Ware in the Upper Ganga Valley. AC-14 date from the former site reads  $1025 \pm 110$  B. C.<sup>176</sup> Since the sample comes from the mid-phase of the P. G. Ware deposit and below this was encountered an accumulation of 1 metre in thickness associated with the same ware, it is not unlikely that the ware in question would have been introduced at the site in 12th C. B. C. As regards the carbon date of Noh it may be pointed out that the said sample came from layer F yielding a date  $700 \pm 120$  B. C. According to the excavator, the excavation was conducted upto layer R "below which the natural soil was exposed. In that case the earliest habitation stratum of Noh may tentatively be dated as early as 1200 B.C. which fits in well with results from Atranjikhhera etc." If this line of interpretation be correct, the P. G. ware culture would have been introduced in the Upper Ganga Valley sometime in 12th C. B. C. if not earlier. But in this context it may be emphasised that the data available are scanty and more radio carbon dates are required to support such a high antiquity of the ware in the absence of which whatever has been said in the preceding lines has only hypothetical value.

While attempting the chronology of the Plain Black and Red Ware culture of the Upper Ganga Valley, it may be said even at the risk of repetition that so far only two sites, e. g., Atranjikhhera in Etah District of Western Uttar Pradesh and Noh in Baratapur District of Rajasthan have provided an independent horizon to this culture. Under the circumstances, it would be premature to generalise on this very slender piece of evidence. However, it is not unlikely that the future excavations and explorations conducted in these areas may tell a similar story and it may be only a matter of chance that such sites have yet not come in the notice of the archaeologists. Hence whatever is being said about the chronology of the Plain Black and Red Ware of the Upper Ganga Valley in the following pages is

175. Agrawal, D. P. — Radio Carbon, Vol. 6, 1964, p. 226.

176. Agrawal, D. P. and others: Radio Carbon Dates of the Archaeological Samples' Current Science, 33, No. 9 (May, 1964), p. 267.



provisional. The following points seem to have some bearing on the chronology of the Plain Black and Red ware :

(I) Plain Black-and-Red Ware of Upper Ganga Valley and South Rajasthan is different from the painted Black-and-Red Ware of Ahar-Gilund complex. While the ceramic industry of Ahar-Gilund profusely painted, its counterpart of Upper Ganga Valley and South Rajasthan is plain. Not even a single sherd-bearing painting has yet been found. Besides, the types associated with these groups are also different.

(II) Plain Black-and-Red Ware has been found along with the Painted Grey Ware in the Panjab, Western Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

(III) Plain Black-and-Red Ware pottery assemblage at Atranjikhhera and Noh also comprise of Black slipped Ware and Red Ware.

(IV) The Black slipped Ware and the Red Ware along with the Black-and-Red Ware constitute the Painted Grey Ware assemblage.

(V) There is not much typological difference between the Painted Grey Ware assemblage and the Black-and-Red Ware assemblage.

While points III and IV of the above discussion would indicate the super-imposition of the Painted Grey Ware over the plain Black-and-Red Ware pottery assemblage, the point No. V would preclude any time gap between the two—the end of the Plain-Black-Red Ware and the beginning of the painted Grey Ware. The key sites of the Plain Black-and-Red Ware like Atranjikhhera and Noh do indicate a hiatus but in the vast region of Western Uttar Pradesh and Southern Rajasthan, the existence of such site or sites having a continuous history right from the Plain Black-and-Red Ware to the Painted Grey Ware cannot be ruled out. Otherwise so much of identity between the types and fabrics of the two assemblage would remain unexplainable.

As discussed above, if the middle of 1200 B. C. be accepted as the beginning of the Painted Grey Ware in the region, the same should be regarded as the end-bracket of the Plain Black and Red Ware. Since the occupational deposit is very thin both at Atranjikhhera and Noh, it is not unlikely that the ware would have been introduced at the sites some time in the middle of 1300 B. C. This lower bracket for the ware, however, is applicable only to South Rajasthan and Western Uttar Pradesh and not to the Plain Black-and



Red Ware of the sites like Kakoria on the Chandraprabha where the ceramic is found associated with the rich microlithic industry.

The ochre coloured pottery of Western Uttar Pradesh does not show any connection with the succeeding Black-and-Red Ware assemblage both in type and fabric, indicating thereby that the succeeding industry of the Black-and Red Ware did not develop out of the tradition of the ochre coloured pottery. Now if the middle of 13th century B. C. be taken as the starting point of the Plain Black and Red Ware, the end of the ochre coloured tradition should have been definitely earlier. But what should be lower bracket of the history of the ware? This is the most baffling problem which can be solved only by systematic exploration and excavations in Western Uttar Pradesh. As the facts stand, no O. C. P. site excepting that of Ambakheri appears to have remained under occupation for a considerable length of time. Even the sites of Atranjikhhera and Noh appear to be only the camping stations. Under the circumstances it does not look improbable that the O. C. P. culture covered not more than 100 years. The Ware as such would have evolved out of the late Harappan ceramic tradition in 15th century B. C. — a hypothesis which is also supported by the finds of flat axe, shouldered cell etc. in the contexts of the objects as old as 1500 B. C.<sup>177</sup>

While discussing the end of the late Harappan culture in Western Uttar Pradesh, we have to take into consideration the following points:

(I) The majority of Ambakheri pottery types (in O. C. P.) are to be traced back to the Late Harppan assemblage of Alamgirpur in Harappan fabric.<sup>178</sup>

(II) It is significant to note that the O. C. P. is conspicuous by its absence at the site of Alamgirpur .

(III) Alamgirpur shares some typical shapes such as Indus goblet, the cylindrical beaker with slightly flaring rim, the perforated brazier and the small belt-shaped beaker with disc base, the ring stand and the large carinated dish - on - stand.<sup>179</sup>

177. Sankalia, H. D. — Prehistory and Protohistory of India (University of Bombay, 1963), p. 225.

178. Krishnadeva — *op. cit.* p. 6.

179. Krishnadeva — *op. cit.* p. 7.



(IV) The geographical situation of Alamgirpur in Meerut District of Western Uttar Pradesh indicates that it would have received Harappan influence earlier than the sites lying to the East of it.

(V) The presence of Copper flat axe, ring and anthropomorphic figure in the Harappan context suggests that at least some of the types of the well-known copper-hoards have their roots in the Harappan artifacts.

By process of elimination, it appears that the Harappan settlement at the site of Alamgirpur is earlier than the O. C. P. settlement of Ambakheri or degenerate Harappan settlement of Baragaon. But since the pottery types of Alamgirpur are encountered at Ambakheri, it indicates the survival of the former into the latter. Here it may not be out of place to point out that the Harappan pottery types have undergone modification in their long and eventful history. At places some new types have also been encountered. From Harappa to Rupar, there are both similarities and dissimilarities. In the same fashion the evidences from Rupar and Alamgirpur do not tell the same story. Under the circumstances if some new features are noticed at Ambakheri, it may not surprise us. The emergence of the O. C. P. may not indicate a new culture but the degenerate phase of the Harappan culture itself.

The aforesaid discussion would indicate that the Late Harappan Culture might have been introduced earlier than 1500 B. C. in Western Uttar Pradesh.

To recapitulate, the different cultures in the Upper Ganga Valley may be placed as indicated within the brackets marked against them:

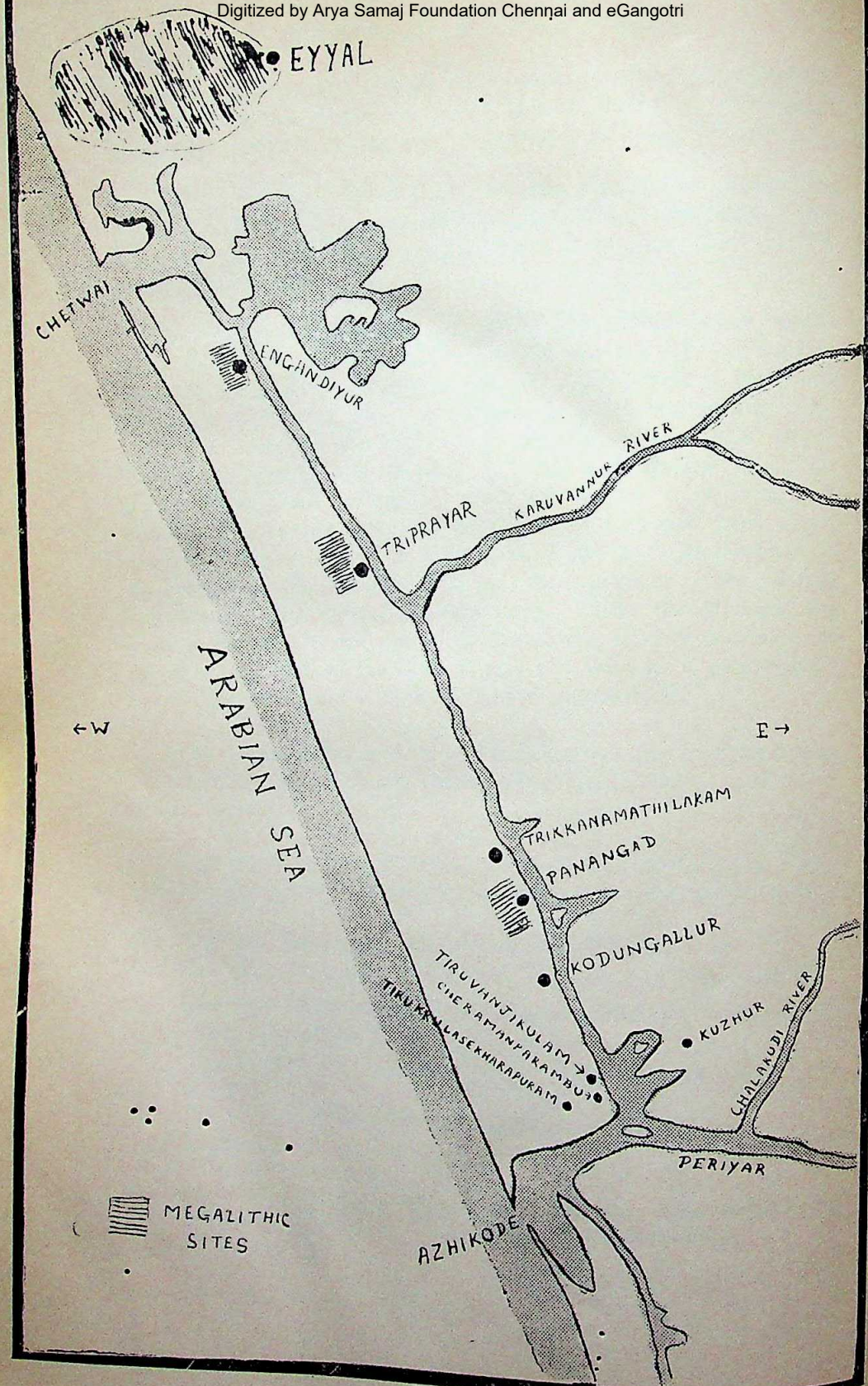
- (1) The Late Harappan Culture—(before 1500 B. C.)
- (2) The O. C. P. culture—(1500 B. C. to the mid of 13th C. B. C.)
- (3) The Plain Black-and Red Ware culture—(Mid of 13th C. B. C. to the mid of 12th C. B. C.)
- (4) The Painted Grey Ware Culture—(Mid of 12th C. B. C. to 600 B. C.)
- (5) The N. B. P. Ware Culture—(600 B. C.—1st C. A. D.)

180. Rao, S. R. — Harappan ceramic wares and the Devolution of the Harappan Culture, p. 3 — Paper read at Patna, April, 1968.











## Archaeological Excavations in Kodungallur— A General Impression

BY

V. T. INDUCHUDAN

The Archaeological Survey of India had been doing excavations in Kodungallur for about five weeks in February—March, 1970.

Kodungallur is located on the sea-coast in central Kerala. It is an island, about thirty miles long north-south and five miles wide east-west with the Arabian Sea and the back-waters on the west and the east and the Chetwai and Azhikode river-mouths on the north and the south. The Joint Commissioners' Report calls this the Chetwai Island. The Azhikode river-mouth consists of waters from a joint stream of a diversion from the Periyar and the Chalakudi rivers; and the Chetwai river-mouth vacates the waters of the Karuvannur river and a diversion from the joint stream referred to above. The rivers and the back-waters swell up during the monsoons and floods are common. The southern regions of the island have a greyish looking soil, while the northern regions look more sandy. In fact, this part of the island is popularly called Manappuram, meaning the land of loose white sand. The flora consists of mainly coconuts and aricanuts with patches of paddy lands here and there. Fruit trees like jack-fruit and mango are more common. Cows and goats form the main bulk of the fauna.

### *A Short History of Explorations*

Kodungallur had been the subject of archaeological explorations from the twenties of this century. But, at first, this was nothing more than observation of monuments, sites and inscriptions. The first concrete work was done by late A. S. Ramanatha Iyer in the thirties, when he copied and read two inscriptions of the Tirukkudasekharapuram temple which stood at the southern point of the island. Altogether there are three inscriptions in this temple: the first is on a stone in the floor of the small garbhagriha in which an idol of Garuda



is consecrated; the second is engraved on a stone built into the floor of the first prakara; and the third found on a step in front of the central shrine. Number one is completely worn out and damaged and hardly anything could be made out of it. Iyer attempted to read the second and the third.

The right-hand of the second inscription has been broken off and the lines do not make continuous reading; nevertheless, Ramanath-Iyer could make out that it was a tenancy deed with a preamble which mentions that the four *Talis* had met on a particular day. There is no mention of the date in this inscription, but Iyer assigned this to the 12th century A. D. on palaeographic grounds.<sup>1</sup>

The third inscription concerns a gift of five kalanjus of gold given by one Polan Iravi of Venpalanadu and also a stipulation for a dramatic performance (*kuthu*). Here also, the exact date of the inscription is missing. However, Iyer suggested that the script looked very much like that of the 11th century A. D. According to the first two lines of this particular inscription, "this epigraph was recorded 195 years after the Tirukkulasekharapurath *tali* came to be established." The word '*tali*' in Tamil means temple and therefore, Iyer put forth the view that this temple might have been built 195 years earlier i. e. in the 9th century A. D.<sup>2</sup>

In 1939, while Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar was the Diwan of erstwhile Cochin State, he took some special interest and brought down Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar for a surface survey of Kodungallur. Iyengar's work was mainly concerned with the tracing out of the places mentioned in the *Vanji-kanda* of *Silapathikaram*. However, in the course of this work, he discovered one relic of an archaeological nature and this was the idol of Kshetrapala in the Kali temple of Kodungallur. The image is more than eight feet, made of granite standing in an outer shrine. The form of the idol is that of a normal man (excepting for the height) with one head and two hands. The face is typically that of a Dravidian with a beard and a calm look. Iyengar identified this with the idol of Sathukkaputha, which according to *Silapathikaram*, the Chera king, Senkuttuva, installed in his capital. Sathukkaputha is the Tamil form of Chathushkabhutha

1. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. VI, Part 2, No. 85.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 86.



which means "the guard of the square" and the name Kshetrapala is a synonym<sup>3</sup>

About four miles east of Tiruvanjikulam temple which stands at the southern end of the island, there is a temple named Kuzhur. This stands across the back-waters on the mainland. Two inscriptions, both in Vatteluthu, are found in this temple. These are very much worn out and damaged, but A. G. Warriar could make out from one of these that the old name of this place was Tirukkuzhumur and he advanced the view that this might be the place where the first Chera king, Udiyancheraltha, had his seat.<sup>4</sup> We know that, according to a poem in the Sangam collection, *Akananuru*, Udiyan conducted feasts at a place named Kuzhumur.<sup>5</sup> Tirukkuzhumur, meaning 'holy Kuzhumur' agrees very much with the name in *Akananuru*.

In an article written in 1940, late T. K. Krishna Menon, has claimed that Roman coins had been found in Kodungallur and these are in the Madras Museum.<sup>6</sup> Frankly speaking, I have not been able to trace these.

In 1944-45, excavations were conducted in a place named Cheramanparambu near Tiruvanjikkulam and also in Tiruvanjikkulam by P. Anujan Achan, Archaeologist to the Government of Cochin. Reports of the work are available and the finds are in the Trichur Archaeological Museum. From what we can gather from these reports the occupation layers were 5' deep, which Achan marked into five levels. Various kinds of pot-sherds, copper and iron implements, bangles and beads and led-balls from the later levels were discovered. Below the occupation layers was discovered loose sand.<sup>7</sup> According to Achan's report, China sherds occurred in "mixed deposits between the second and fourth layers". These are called Celadon, a pottery made in China in the Sung period and exported to other countries, according to Achan, between the 10th and the 12th centuries of the Christian era. Since these are the earliest relics which Achan could identify, he suggested that earlier deposits

3. Seran - Vanji, P. 39.

4. Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Institute, Vol. VIII, Part 1, P. 48.

5. Akam, 168.

6. Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Institute, Vol. VIII, Part 2, P. 99.

7. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State, 1945-46.



might have been washed away or covered up with silt by the floods of 1341 A. D.<sup>8</sup>

*A Big Discovery which Breaks Darkness*

On October 28th, 1945, a hoard of Roman and punch-marked coins was discovered from a place called Eyyal. The discovery was accidental. Somebody was digging a trench for the planting of bananas when he found these coins in an earthen-ware pot. The coins were later recovered by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Cochin. A part of the coins was sent to Sir Mortimer Wheeler for cleaning and identification.<sup>9</sup> We are told that some of these coins were sent to London for the expert opinion of Dr. J. Allan of the British Museum.<sup>10</sup> On the basis of reports from these two scholars, the date of deposit was fixed about 100 A. D.<sup>11</sup>

There were altogether 12 gold Roman coins, 71 Silver Roman denarius and 34 punch-marked coins. A fresh study of these coins was made by N. G. Unnithan and Dr. Parameswari Lal Gupta in 1964-65. Punch-marked coins are the earliest silver coinage of India, so called because symbols were stamped on them with punches. Gupta has assigned these to a period between the sixth century B. C. and the close of the second century B. C.<sup>12</sup> The Roman coins cover a period of 240 years from 123 B.C. to 117 A.D. One *aureus* of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) was found to be quite fresh, on the strength of which Gupta fixed the date of deposit as the first century A. D.<sup>13</sup>

Gupta suggested that these Roman coins might have come through the ancient port of Muziris (identified by many scholars with Kodungallur) and has also pointed out that the village of Eyyal lies on the national high-way connecting Muziris with another ancient port named Tyndis (identified with Quilandy of North Kerala).<sup>14</sup>

Eyyal lies very close to the Chetwai island, on which is situated Kodungallur, barely ten miles distant, as the crow flies, from its

8. *Ibid.*, 1946-47.

9. *Ibid.*, 1945-46.

10. *Ibid.*, 1946-47.

11. *Ibid.*, 1947-48.

12. *The Early Coins from Kerala*, Pp. 6-7.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

14. *Ibid.*, Pp. 62-67.



northern river-mouth, across the river, in a north-eastern direction. This region is fertile with many archaeological monuments, the most important of which are megaliths. They are of various kinds, rock-cut caves, cists, urn-burials, topi-kals and kuda-kals, and are distributed in Eyyal, Porkalam, Kandanissery, Kattakampal, Cheramangad etc. Some spade-work had already been done here by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Cochin, when B. K. Thapar, of the Archaeological Survey of India, conducted some systematic digging in Porkalam in 1947-48. He excavated an urn-burial.

Various types of pottery, beads and iron implements were secured from this monument. The pottery includes the black-and-red ware which has always been found associated with megalithic burials all over South India, red pottery and all-black ones.<sup>15</sup> On the basis of the pottery and the beads, Thapar assigned this monument to a period between B. C. 200 and A. D. 100.<sup>16</sup> In 1956, Y. D. Sarma, of the Archaeological Survey of India, published a paper on the rock-cut caves of this region. Basing himself on the structural similarities of these caves with the general megalithic complex of South India, Sarma assigned these to the period in which the latter are supposed to have originated i. e. B. C. 200 to A. D. 100.<sup>17</sup>

Recently, the Department of Archaeology, Government of Kerala, dug up some urn-burials from a place named Engandiyur on the northern tip of the Chetwai Island. The site is about a mile long and about half a mile broad and seems to be crowded with this kind of burials, though much of it might have been lost in the course of villagers quarrying the ground for this purpose or that. The relics secured from this site consist of mainly black-and-red pottery and red-pottery and they are in the Trichur Museum. Typical black-and-red pottery was secured not long ago from another urn-burial site near the Triprayar temple by an officer of the Cochin Office of the Archaeological Survey of India. This site is about 18 miles from Engandiyur on the Chetwai Island.

A similar site has again been located in Panangad, further south of Triprayar and although work here is yet to be done, we can assume

15. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State, 1947-48.
16. Porkalam, 1948, B. K. Thapar, *Ancient India*, No. 8.
17. Rock-cut Caves in Cochin, Y. D. Sarma, *Ancient India*, No. 12.



with a considerable measure of certainty that a culture existed on the Chetwai Island and its northern surroundings some time between B.C. 200 and A. D. 100. Recent trends among the scholars of the Archaeological Survey of India have been in favour of attributing greater antiquity to the black-and-red pottery. If this is accepted, then the early cultural deposit in Kodungallur coincides with the reference to Keralaputra in the Girnar edict of Asoka (272-232 B. C.)

### *Current Excavations*

I was an observer during the current operations of the Archaeological Survey of India and I am thankful to the authorities for this rare opportunity given to me. However, I am not here attempting to give a technical documentation of the work done, but only jotting down some general impressions. I also want to add here that these impressions may or may not agree with the conclusions of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The main part of the work done in February-March of 1970 was the digging of trial trenches in Tirukkulasekharapuram, Balaganeswaram and Trikkanamathilakam. We will begin with Trikkanamathilakam first.

Part of a laterite wall, which was lying buried, was accidentally exposed while the villagers were quarrying the ground to plant coconut seedlings. An attempt was made to assess the nature and dimensions of this wall. It is found to be about 5' thick, constructed out of heavy laterite stones. The wall was remaining completely buried in sand and when exposed showed a height of 6'. This structure lay extended in the east-west direction to a considerable length, may be four furlongs. There is some indication that this was the southern wall of a square fortification; because traces of its continuation have been found on the western side also. It may be mentioned here that 'mathilakam' in the place-name Trikkanamathilakam means "inside a fortification." It suits the structure very much.

A little to the north of this wall, there was a site which attracted attention. Surface finds indicated that there might have been some structures here in the unknown past. Parts of these were peeping out of the ground and granite stones with carvings were lying here and there on the ground. Quite a lot of pottery could be picked up from the sides of the trenches dug by the villagers for planting etc.



About half a dozen trenches were dug on this ground on an area of about 400 square feet. As was expected, the trenches uncovered portions of what might have been the foundation of a laterite structure. The presence of a large number of pot-lamps in almost all the trenches proved without doubt that the foundation must have been that of a temple. A large variety of pot-sherds, bangles, two Chola coins of Rajaraja I (A. D. 985-1014), iron and copper nails etc. were the relics recovered from these trenches.

The most important feature which should attract the attention of any scholar is the peculiar lay-out of the fort and the temple. I have said that the wall must have been that of a square fortification. The eastern side of this remains to be traced, but we can more or less guess its position even at this stage, by fixing the south-eastern corner of the southern wall which has been traced to some extent. This particular spot is traditionally called by the villagers "*Mathilmoola*" meaning "the corner of the wall". The eastern wall of the fort may be starting from here, towards the north. A characteristic feature of the lay-out is that the temple stands right in the middle of where the eastern wall should be. If there was a gate here, the temple would have been exactly at the gate.

This lay-out is comparable to Kunavayirkottam of *Silapathikaram*. The name *Kuna* (east) *Vayir* (at the mouth or gate) *Kottam* (temple) means "the temple at the eastern gate". And here is a fort with a temple at the eastern gate. Triikkanamathilakam is apparently the slang for Tirukunamathilakam. That *kuna* in Tirukkunamathilakam was meant to signify the east is clear from the fact that a little to the east of Tirukkunamathilakam, a place is still called Kunathukunnu, meaning a hill to the east (in slang it is called Konathukunuu). Tirukkunamathilakam means "the holy eastern fort", called so possibly because the structure is located towards the eastern edge of the Island.

Kunavayirkottam was the residence of Ilamko Adikal, the author of *Silapathikaram*.<sup>18</sup> He was supposed to be the brother of a Chera king called Senkuttuvan. *Silapathikaram* gives the impression that Ilamko was a Jain monk and Kunavayirkottam a Jain Monastery. According to Adiyarkunallar, who lived some time between the 12th

18 *Silapathikaram*, Pathikam,



and the 16th centuries A. D., Kunavayirkottam was an *Arukankovil*, which means a Jain temple, located in a place named Tirukkunavayil. I doubt whether any outstanding Jain relics have yet been found either in the trenches or over the ground. But we know from other sources that as late as the 14th century A. D., Triikkanamathilakam was a non-Brahmanic shrine. The narrative poem *Kokasandesu*, which is supposed to have been composed about this time, specifically prohibits the Brahmins from looking at the deity, in this temple.<sup>19</sup>

The Archaeological Department, Government of Kerala, had, some time back, recovered some relics of a ruined Jain temple from Alathur (Palghat District) in Kerala. This included a *Vatteluthu* inscription which is believed to have been inscribed by an assembly of bodies such as *Narppathennayiravar*, *Patipadamulamum* of Tirukunavaytevar etc. On palaeographic grounds, the inscription has been assigned to the 10th century A. D.<sup>20</sup> Here, the Tirukunavaytevar may be identified with the deity of Tirukunamathilakam which again indicates the Jain affinity of the latter. It is true that *Kokasandesu* has mentioned that Siva was consecrated in Kunaka<sup>21</sup> (this poem calls Tirukkunamathilakam 'Kunaka'). Siva's holy presence need not be considered conflicting evidence. Saivism, Jainism and Buddhism co-existed and mixed up with one another during certain periods in history. Rajaraja I, himself a Saivite, helped to build a Buddhist monastery named Chudamani Vihara in Nagapattinam.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, the name, the lay-out and the cultural character of the temple, unearthed at Triikkanamathilakam, and Kunavayirkottam of *Silapathikaram* agree with one another.

### *The Date of Origin of the Temple*

What is the date of origin of this temple? Do the contents of the trenches give any indication? The question is whether the Chola coins of the 11th century give us any hint of the date of the particular level in the trench in which they were found. If they do,

19. Sloka, 48.

20. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, 1960, P. 70; See also Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLIV, Part II, No. 131, August 1966, Pp. 537-543.

21. Sloka, 47.

22. History of South India, Nilakanta Sastri, P. 173.



then, perhaps, we may attempt to calculate the rate of deposit of the lower levels and arrive at some conclusion regarding the date of the lowest levels of the foundation. Of course, sometimes, the pottery may be datable.

The presence of the Chola coins is easily explained. Both Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I have conducted military campaigns against Kerala. The coins may have come in the course of these wars and the date of deposit may be 11th century, when Rajendra is said to have actually occupied Mahodayapura, the capital of the Chera kings of the second dynasty. But, it is not very easy to calculate the rate of deposit of the debris below the level of deposit of the coins. There is no set formula to calculate this rate. Wheeler has once frankly characterised such calculations as guess-work. Discussing the excavations in Brahmagiri-Chandravalli, Wheeler says:

"Any theoretical attempt to build up a time-scale upon the depth of strata is admittedly fraught with peril. Many unknown and variable factors are involved. At Chandravalli, coins which are not, apparently, earlier than 50 B. C. or much later than A. D. 200 ranged through an accumulation of 5'; the period thus represented was probably, in fact, not more than two centuries. At Sirkap (Taxila II) the excavations of 1944-45 indicated that 6-9 feet of floors and debris were deposited during some two centuries of very intensive occupation, c. 50 B. C.—A. D. 150. In the untidy Bhir Mound (Taxila I) 14-15 feet may, with less security, be ascribed to c. 500-150 B. C., i. e. to some 3½ centuries; but the masonry and building methods were here of so unstable a character that the accumulation may well have been exceptionally rapid. On the site of the more rudimentary town at Brahmagiri, where the buildings were of light timber construction the accumulation was doubtless slower, and may even have been retarded by the intermittent wearing away of some of the loose earthen floors; but it is difficult to ascribe more than two centuries to the 3-4 feet of accumulation represented there by the main body of megalithic culture...." <sup>23</sup>

The first problem is whether the level of deposit of the coins can be regarded as the 11th century level. I would say that this need

23. Brahmagiri—Chandravalli, R. E. M. Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 4.



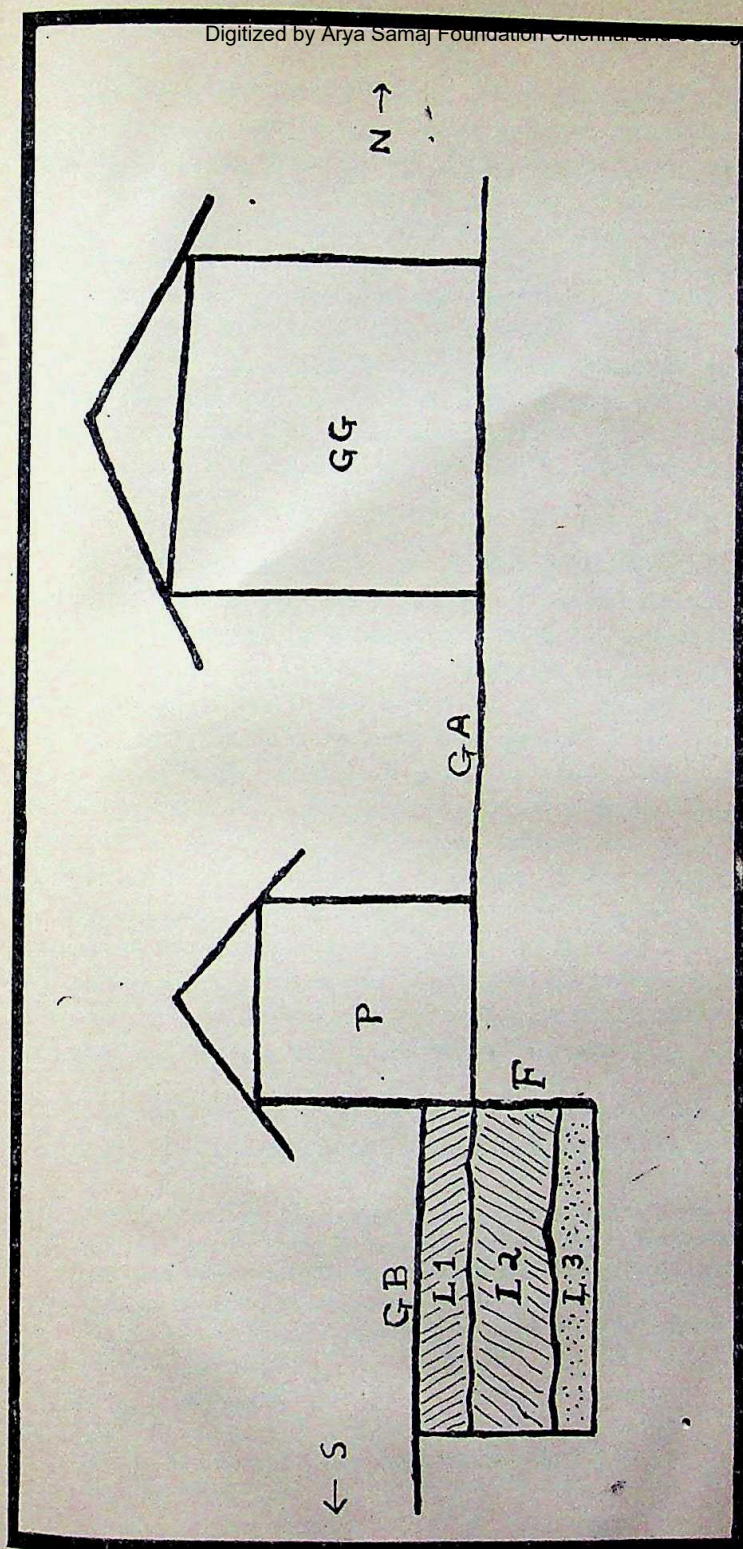
not necessarily be so, because in the case of a *livé-temple* which continued to be used by the devotees, the ground level remains almost the same without any appreciable accumulation of debris through a great length of time, probably several centuries, due to the fact that the premises are kept clean and any accumulation of dirt is removed daily. Therefore, the ground-level of such a temple in the third or fourth or fifth century, for instance, would have continued to be almost the same without any remarkable changes in the 11th century also when the coins were dropped here. In short, so far as a *livé-temple* which is continued to be of use, is concerned, the third century level, for instance, almost coincides with the eleventh century level.

This is not just a theoretical presumption, but what has been proved at Tirkkulasekharapuram during the current excavations.<sup>23a</sup> This temple is a 9th century structure, if we accept the reading of the epigraph as correct. The ground-level outside the *prakara* of this temple is 15 cms. higher than that inside the *prakara* where the *garbhagriha* stands. A trench was dug just outside the *prakara* on the southern side, almost touching the wall of the *prakara*. The trench showed three layers, the uppermost was about 15 cms. thick, of greyish colour, the middle about a little more than a foot thick, reddish in colour, and the lowest of white sand without any deposits. The foundation of the *prakara* of the temple was found to be cut into the second layer down to the natural soil, in the third layer. Apparently, this second layer might be the pre-ninth century deposit and the greyish uppermost layer must have been post-ninth century formation. This uppermost layer was more than 90 cms. in a trench dug about 50 yards away from the temple, outside its compound-wall at a site called Kovilakapparambu.

It is clear from the above that inside the *prakara*, in the inner yard where the *garbhagriha* stands, the accumulation is minimum, perhaps nil, and it increases as we go further and further away from the temple, 15 cms. outside the *prakara* and more than six times this, 50 yards away. In fact, a casual look at this temple and its premises will convince an observer that the ground-level gradually rise as you move away from the temple-structure.

23a. Please refer to the accompanying sketch of a cross-section of the temple and the trench.





GA — Ground-level inside prakara.  
GB — Ground-level outside prakara.  
F — Foundation of prakara.

GG — Garbhagriha.  
P — Prakara.  
L1 — etc : Layers.







We know from tradition and historical records that the Tirukunamathilakam temple was a livé-place of worship at least till about 1756 A. D. The *Sukasandesa*, a Sanskrit narrative poem, assigned to various periods between the 9th and 14th centuries A. D., by different scholars<sup>24</sup> calls this temple Gunaka and Gunakapuri and describes this as a great place of worship.<sup>25</sup> The *Kokasandesa* of the 14th century A. D. also says the same thing.<sup>26</sup> K. V. Krishna Iyer tells us that in the middle ages, the temple exercised supremacy even over the great Guruvayur temple and the latter was the Kiletam of Triikkanamathilakam.<sup>27</sup> Triikkanamathilakam, according to Krishna Iyer, was desecrated by the Dutch in 1756 A. D. in the course of a battle with the Zamorins.<sup>28</sup> It must have fallen into ruins since then.

If there was a temple at Triikkanamathilkam, in the third or fourth or fifth century A. D., the ground-levels around its immediate surroundings would have been maintained without significant changes by way of deposits, through the centuries, till the coins fell here and were buried a few inches below or were hidden somewhere, and continued to maintain the same level almost to the 18th century A.D. when it crumbled down. The Chola coins were found at depths of 70 cms. and 105 cms. This thickness of deposit might have been added after 1756 A. D., when the temple was destroyed, i. e. an accumulation of roughly 3' of debris in the course of 250 years. Considering the approximate size of the temple, the debris should have been much more; but, apparently, it must have been cleared by later settlers. This is one of the peculiarities here, debris is never allowed to accumulate into mounds, possibly because the region came to be densely populated in historic times.

The pot-sherds available from the lowest levels were the plain red ones. I wonder whether we can date the temple with any amount

24. K. G. Sessa Iyer assigns this to the 9th century A. D. (see *Sera Kings of the Sangam Period*); Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer gives a period between the 11th and the 12th centuries (*Keralasahityacharithram*, vol. I); K. R. Pisharoty agrees with Sessa Iyer (*Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Institute*, vol. I, No. I) A. Sridhara Menon assigns it to the 14th century A. D. (*Trichur District Gazetteer*).

25. Sloka 2. of Part II.

26. Sloka 47.

27. *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XI, Part III, P. 836.

28. *Ibid*, P. 845.



of certainty *purely* on the basis of these pot-sherds. The range of plain red pottery is very wide in both time and space. We have plain red pottery of the megalithic period (B. C. 200 - A. D. 100); plain red pottery existed during the mediaeval period. I, certainly, do not deny the fact that there are differences between the one and other. But the question here is whether these differences are *so unmistakably outstanding as to give a decisive indication of an exact date*. Another factor which makes me hesitate to date the temple on the basis of the pottery is that in some of the trenches something like two foundations in two different levels have been found, one above the other. It is possible that some kind of reconstruction or new constructions had taken place in a later period after the temple was originally built. If such an operation had taken place, it would have definitely disturbed the earlier deposits, if any.

Different scholars have suggested different periods for the date of composition of *Silapathikaram*, from the 2nd to the 9th centuries A. D. If the Triikkanamathilakam temple can be identified with the Kunavayirkottam of *Silapathikaram*, then we can say that it must have existed some time in this period. The Alathur Jain temple inscription shows that Kunavaitevar exercised supremacy over other Jain temples as early as the 10th century A. D., and that Tirukunavai was flourishing during this period. This means nothing else than that the temple was already in existence for some time prior to the 10th century; for, a newly built temple could not have become suddenly supreme one fine morning. Beyond this, we cannot arrive at any definite conclusions until and unless fresh evidence is coming forth from under the ground.

#### *The Tirukkulasekharapuram Site*

Three trenches were dug in Tirukkulasekharapuram, one on the north of the temple, a little away from the *prakara*, another on the south touching the *prakara*, and a third in the Kovilakapparambu, just outside the compound-wall of the temple. The first did not yield any result. I have already given the results of the second with three layers, one grey, the second reddish and the third virgin soil without any signs of human habitation. The second layer had deposits of fine red pot-sherds.

If the word *tali* in the Tirukkulasekharapuram inscription, referred to above, means a temple, this shrine must be a 9th century



structure and the second layer must have existed prior to this period. But, I must not omit to mention here that we are not at all certain about the real significance of *tali*. According to epigraphical evidence and Kerala traditions, the word *tali* indicated an administrative unit.

Srikandheswaram G. Parameswaran Pillai has given the meaning of *tali* as a temple and also one of the four administrative divisions of ancient Kerala.<sup>29</sup> It is true that the head-quarters of these administrative units were located in temples, but they were separate entities. All temples in Kerala are not Tali temples. Only a few of them carry the name Tali temples, and these had in them the seat of administration.

Tradition is clear on this matter. The following is the story contained in the *Keralotpathi*, the legendary history of Kerala. Parasurama was born to exterminate the wicked Kshatriyas and he carried out this mission, killing the Kshatriya kings twenty one rounds. And then to get rid of the sins of his actions, he conducted prayers to Varuna at Gokarnam, and reclaimed 108 *Katham*s of land from underneath the sea which was called Kerala. He brought Arya Brahmins from Ahichchatra and settled them in 64 villages in Kerala.<sup>30</sup> These villages were put under four *Kalakams* which elected rulers called *Rakshapurushans* who ruled for periods of 3 years each.<sup>31</sup> They were also called *Avarodhanambis* to whom landowners gave one-sixth of the produce. When these gentlemen began to misuse their powers, the four *Kalakams* met and brought a king to rule the land. This king ruled for a period of 12 years and at the end of his reign, another was installed. The custom persisted and thus kings began to rule Kerala for periods of 12 years each.<sup>32</sup> The eighth in the series was called Kulasekhara during whose period there were some administrative reforms, and the establishment of the *talis* was part of these. They were four in number, Meltali, Kiltali, Nediyaleti and Chingapurathtali. The head-men of these units were called *Taliyatiris*.<sup>33</sup>

The eleventh in this line of kings who were called Perumals, was Indra Perumal. He is said to have ruled from Allur Perumkovilakam

29. *Sabdataravali*.

30. *Keralotpachi*, edited by Dr. Gundert, Pp. 3-4.

31. *Ibid.*, Pp. 14-16.

32. *Ibid.*, Pp. 17-24.

33. *Ibid.*, P. 25.



and near his palace were built four *talis*. The narrative here gives the impression that these four *talis* were built for four *Kalakams*, the words used being "*sameepathu nalu kalakathinum nalu taliyum theerthu*."<sup>34</sup> The next king was Arya Perumal, who organised the land into four divisions and built four *talis* at four *Kalakams*.<sup>35</sup>

Only a small part of the traditions mentioned above is supported by solid historical facts, the lion's share of them being myth. However, the story of the establishment of *talis* must be certainly true. These existed some time or other as administrative units. There are many epigraphs which prove this. If we can accept the principle that words carry their meanings from generation to generation by virtue of usage and tradition, the word *tali* cannot be interpreted as a temple, it is much more than that. Nothing definite can be said about the age of *Keralotpathi*. There is general agreement among the historians that it may not be earlier than the 17th century A. D. We can safely assume that during the age of composition of *Keralotpathi* the sense conveyed by the word *tali* was not that of 'a temple', but an administrative unit.

Epigraphical evidence almost supports this concept of the *tali* contained in the traditions. The Peruneyil inscription of Kulasekhara-koyiladhikarikal has the word *tali* in it more than once. This inscription is engraved on a slab set up on the west side of the central shrine in the Peruneyil temple. Written in *Vatteluthu*, it is dated "8th year opposite to the second of the reign of Kulasekhara-koyiladhikari." The exact year of the inscription is not mentioned in it. But this is presumed to belong to the 11th century A. D. on the basis of the dated Rameswaram inscription of Quilon, in which a Koyiladhikari Kulasekhara Chakravarthi is mentioned. The inscription is intended to register a royal order of Kulasekharakoyiladikari. According to the narration contained in it, the king was staying at Nediatali and through an order he granted an annual income of 40 *kalams* to the Peruneyil temple. While issuing the order, the king was, according to the inscription, accompanied by the four *talis*. The exact words are the following.<sup>36</sup>

"Nalutaliyaiyum tirukkunrappolaiyum kuttikundu

"Nediyatali irunnaruli....."

34. *Ibid.*, Pp. 26-31.

35. *Ibid.*, Pp. 31-36.

36. The Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. V, Part I.



This means "sitting at Nediatali having *taken* the four talis and Tirukkunrappolai with him." The king, apparently, could not have "taken" (*kuttikundu*) the four *talis* if they had been temples. The *talis*, were obviously, some kind of administrative units and the king might have taken with him the representatives or the heads of these units. The usage in the Rameswaram temple inscription at Quilon also leads us to the same conclusion. This inscription is engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the temple. It is dated Kollam 278 which corresponds to 1103 A. D. In this inscription, the ruler, along with the four *talis* and other appendages, like the subordinate rulers etc. were said to be conferring together to issue an order.<sup>37</sup> The four *talis*, here cannot be four temples. Referring to the Peruneyil inscription, A. S. Ramanatha Iyer rightly wonders why the king should have issued the orders regarding the Peruneyil temple from the Nediatali instead of from Meltali. Meltali was located at Mushikakulam and being nearer to Peruneyil, should have exercised jurisdiction over this temple. Iyer suggests that the *talis* occurring in these inscriptions might have meant the assembly rather than specific villages.

Thus, if *tali* means an administrative unit, then the administrative unit named the Tirukkulasekharapurath tali might have been established in the 9th century in which case there is every possibility that the temple might have been built earlier, because *talis* were commonly started in temples. At any rate, since the temple must have been in existence in the 9th century, the second layer in the trench, referred to above, through which has been cut the foundation of the temple was there, as I have already explained, prior to this time. The trench at Kovilakapparambu also contained all these layers and this trench seems to be giving us more light.

The first layer, here, is the post 9th century deposit, greyish red in colour. It is about 90 cms. thick. At about a depth of 50 cms. what is called Celadon pot-sherds were available in this layer. R. E. M. Wheeler has given us the following details about the story of this kind of pottery:<sup>38</sup>

"The ware is greyish-white in section, but assumes a dull pink surface where (generally on the under side of the base) it has been

37. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. V, Part I.

38. Arikamedu, An Indo-Roman Trading Station, Wheeler, Ancient India, No. 2, P. 91.



exposed directly to the heat of the kiln. For the most part, it is covered with a jade green glaze, usually crackled. The shapes so far as they can be reconstructed, indicate bowls and dishes, all with foot-rings, to one of which sand adheres. The bowls are usually fluted or dimpled.

"Celadon ware was made principally in the Chekiang province, notably at Yueh Chou, Lung Chuan and Chu-Chou, where its kilns are known. It was already in production before the end of the Tang dynasty (A. D. 618-906), but it is specially characteristic of the Sung and the Yuan dynasties, (A. D. 960-1368), when its manufacture centred first round Lung Chuan and later round Chu Chou. Much of it was made specially for foreign trade and its distribution began before A. D. 883, the date of the abandonment of Samara (on the Tigris) where typical Yueh-Chou wares, characterised by sand adhering to the foot-ring have been found. This ware occurs in fair quantities also in the mounds of Fostat (Old Cairo).

"The export trade in Celadon became brisk in the Sung period (A. D. 960-1279) and reached its peak under the Yuan dynasty (A. D. 1280-1368). Plates of this ware have been found extensively over Asia and East Africa...."

Let us take the uppermost limit of 14th century A. D. when Celadon could have come to Kodungallur. Since these sherds are found at a depth of 50 cms., the rate of deposit of the later layers may be 600 years for  $1\frac{1}{2}'$ , i. e. 400 years per foot. I have said that the first layer was a little less than 3' and calculating on the basis of the above rate, this must have taken 1200 years for accumulation, and accumulation must have started in the eighth or the ninth century. This agrees with the observation that this particular layer must have accumulated after the building of the temple in the 9th century A. D. The second red layer is roughly  $1\frac{1}{2}'$  thick and calculated at the above rate, this would have taken 600 years for accumulation.

But I feel that this will be a mere mechanical way of assessment, particularly because, three separate laterite foundations, one above the other have been found in this trench also, apparently built in successive periods. Naturally, when the ground was cut for erecting these foundations earlier deposits would have been disturbed. Thus an assessment of the periods in this trench is made difficult. This is



so, because fine red pottery is the only one that is available from this trench also.

### *The Problems and Some General Observations*

I will state the problems first and then examine in a general way how many of them have been solved and to what extent. Basing themselves on literary sources, consisting of the writings of Greek and Roman travellers of the beginning of the Christian era and the *Sangam* literature, some scholars have expressed the view that there was a port called Muziris in Kodungallur, and that the capital of the first Chera dynasty, popularly called the Sangam Cheras, which existed during the first three centuries of the Christian era, was also located here. Historians have also held the view that a second Chera dynasty (9th century to the 12th century A. D.) had their capital named Mahodayapuram in Tiruvanjikulam.

Apart from the find of the Roman coins in Eyyal, no other signs of the ancient port of Muziris have so far been traced in the Chetwai Island. But I must hasten to add that no site near a river-mouth, either Azhikode or Chetwai, has yet been explored.

When Anujan Achan excavated Cheramanparambu, he was searching for Vanji, the capital of the Sangam Cheras, and finding himself upon loose sand at a depth of 5' without any sign of human occupation, postulated the hypothesis that floods might have washed away or covered up everything prior to the 14th century A.D. *Prima facie* Achan's view does not seem to be reasonable, because very near Cheramanparambu, next to the back-waters, we may see the structure of the Tiruvanjikulam temple, supposed to have been built by Cheraman Perumal Nayanar of the 9th century A.D., still surviving intact, unaffected by any floods. If structures could be washed away in Cheramanparambu, the chances of such catastrophe were much more in Tiruvanjikulam. After all, the only conclusion that we can draw from this is that Vanji did not exist here. This is confirmed by the fact that loose white sand of the same quality which was found at the lowest levels of the Cheramanparambu trenches, was invariably found in all the trenches dug in Kodungallur, even in comparatively interior places like Tirukkulasekharapuram. This is the natural soil, the virgin soil untouched by human civilisation, at depths of 5-6 feet.



If Kunavayirkottam of *Silapathikaram* can be identified with the temple at Triikkanamathilakam, this must have been the eastern gate of Vanji. The narration that it was "the temple at the eastern gate" invariably leads to the question "eastern gate of what?" Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar has answered this by suggesting rightly that it must have been the eastern gate of Vanji.<sup>39</sup> But, the difficulty is that we have not been able to date back the temple to the Sangam period. In fact, as we have already seen, we have not been able to date the temple at all, with any amount of accuracy, and I doubt very much whether the age of this structure would be as early as the Sangam era, even when we are able to find a correct clue about the date. A first glance will convince anybody that the stones are not as old as 1800 years. Perhaps, the Sangam Cheras built their structures with some perishable materials and the later rulers built the present edifice.

During the current excavations, no trenches were dug in the centre of the fort or anywhere inside the fort, to find out the possible existence of the remains of a palace. Until we do this we cannot be certain about any royal residences. However, we are quite certain about one thing; and that takes us quite a good distance. The discovery of Kunavayirkottam confirms the fact that a very strong tradition existed during the time of composition of *Silapathikaram*, that Vanji was in Kodungallur and this tradition must have continued till about the 14th century when *Kokasandesha* was composed, because this *Sandesha* refers to Kunaka (Triikkanathilakam) and Vanji flourishing together.<sup>40</sup>

Where was Mahodayapuram, the seat of the Cheras of the second dynasty? As I stated many thought that it was in Tiruvanjikulam. But, we must now admit that this is rather uncertain. In 1944-45, Anujan Achan had carried out some excavations at Tiruvanjikulam also, when he dug trenches in the nearby place, Cheramanparambu. No structures were found here or in Cheramanparambu. In 1969 the Archaeological Survey of India had dug some trenches again in Cheramanparambu; I am told that they went up to a depth of 12', i. e. they continued further

39. Seran-Vanji, Pp. 23-25.

40. Sloka, 54.



down even after the natural soil was touched. Again no traces of any structures were found. In February, 1970 the Archaeological Survey of India explored the site which some called Balaganeswaram, located in between Tiruvanjikkulam and Cheramanparambu. Very much the same results were obtained, and absolutely no relics of any structures were sighted.

On the other hand, remains of the foundations of some buildings have been found in the trenches dug on the Kovilakaparambu near Tirukkulasekharapuram. Of course, more excavations will have to be carried out to assess the nature and extent of these foundations. It is not impossible that this is the foundation of a 9th century palace. Kings of the second Chera dynasty were called "Kulasekharas" and possibly they might have lived near this temple of the same name. Very near Tirukkulasekharapuram, there is a locality with a small Siva shrine, popularly called Udayamangalam. Local tradition goes to say that the last Perumal named Cheraman Perumal caused the division of his kingdom in front of this small shrine. Though his tradition is unsupported by historical facts, the names Udayamangalam and Udayapuram (the particle Maha in Mahodayapuram only means great) seem to be one derived from the other. *Puram* means fort or city and *mangalam* is the technical term for a Brahmin settlement.<sup>41</sup> After the fort fell at the end of the rule of the second Chera dynasty, it might have been converted into a Brahmin village. I know that there are some references in traditions etc. connecting some kings of the second Chera dynasty with Tiruvanjikkulam. This can, in a way, be reconciled with the above surmise by virtue of the fact that Tirukkulasekharapuram and Udayamangalam are located at the outskirts of Tiruvanjikkulam.

Judging from the results of what has been done and seen, the only conclusion that we can draw is that it is worth while continuing the explorations on a much larger scale.

*Post Script:* Since this paper went to the press, there have been some new finds which help to throw considerable light upon the problems that we have been discussing. These consist of a collection of old palm-leaf manuscripts which I came across in three palaces of a

41. Elements of Hindu Iconography, Gopinatha Rao, Vol. II, Part II, P. 428.



royal family named Ayirur Swarupam, situated in and around the Chetwaye Island and also in the Archives of the Guruvayur temple. The leaves contain deeds pertaining to land transactions that took place between the 14th century A. D. and the 18th century A. D. Some of these appear to be connected with properties situated within the limits of a city which the deeds call *Makothaipattinam*. Obviously this city was the remains of the old Chera capital (Sanskrit: *Mahodayapuram* or *Mahodayapattinam*). I am not discussing the details of the finds here; those among the readers who are interested in the subject may refer to my article *Makothaipattinam* in the Annual Number of *Mathrubhumi* (1970) in which I have given the texts and details of these palm-leaf manuscripts. From what can be gathered from these deeds, the city called Makothaipattinam seems to have been stretching from a spot a little to the south of Triikkanamathilakam up to Guruvayur about three miles north of the Chetwaye river-mouth, covering an area about twenty kilometres long and five kilometres broad. It is interesting to note that Eyyal (where the Roman coins were found) and many of the megalithic monuments are within the limits of this region.



## Obituary

We record, with profound sorrow, the sad demise of Dr. Bimala Churn Law on May, 1969.

Born on 26 October 1891, at Calcutta as a member of the famous Law family, Bimala Churn Law graduated from the Presidency College, Calcutta in 1914. In 1916 he took his M. A. degree standing first in the First Class in Pali, including Buddhist Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Palaeography and won the Calcutta University gold medal and prize of Rs. 200/-. After having taken his B. L. degree, he obtained his Ph.D. in Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1924. He was awarded the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee gold medal and the Griffith Memorial Prize of the University of Calcutta. He was the recipient of several prizes and honorary degrees of different universities and learned associations in India and abroad.

He was a lawyer of the Calcutta High Court since 1923 and served as Presidency Magistrate, Justice of the Peace and Sheriff of Calcutta.

Dr. B. C. Law was a man of multi-faceted activities. He was a lawyer, savant, philanthropist and promoter of learning. But it was in the field of higher learning that his renown rests. As a man of letters he was the author of a large number of works on a wide variety of subjects such as Ancient Indian History and Culture, geography, philosophy, Buddhism and Jainism. He was recognised as an international authority on Buddhism and Jainism. His book "The Law of Gift in British India" is a standing testimony to his erudition. He had been a regular contributor of articles and book reviews to the Journal of Indian History.

His demise has caused a void in the scholarly world in India in general and in the study of Buddhism and Jainism in particular which may not be easily filled.

May his soul rest in eternal peace!







## Reviews

MEDIEVAL INDIA — A MISCELLANY, volume I., edited by Professor K. A. Nizami, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh. Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay-1, 1969. Pp. 316. Price Rs. 30/-

Medieval India-A Miscellany takes the place of Medieval India Quarterly which, though sometimes delayed, had to bring out three issues annually. No such obligation is now imposed on the learned editors, and hence this change in the nomenclature. Despite the change "The Volumes in the present series will not differ from the Journal in scope and nature". (p.7) The present volume contains 12 research papers, copies of 6 letters in Persian written by the Sultans of the Deccan Kingdoms to Shah Abbas of Iran, and a few documents of Muhammad-bin-Tughlug. Though some of the papers are taken from doctoral theses and other works of the authors written years ago all the articles are good and are the result of research and labour. Perhaps most interesting are Professor Syed Hasan Askari's 'Material of Historical Interest in *Ijazi-Khusravi*', Prof. S. Nurul Hasan's 'Three studies of Zamindari System', 'The Institution of the Quzi under the Mughals', by Mr. Zameer-ud-din Siddiqi, and 'Khan-i-Dauran, The Mir Bakhshi of Muhammad Shah' by Dr. Zahir ud-din-Malik. The learned author of the studies in Zamindari system does not seem to have noticed the discrepancies between the revenue figures for the Sarkars of Bhojpur and Shahabad. He writes 'Jagat Kunwar' (p.236) for 'Guru' revenue statement (bandobast) for revenue settlement, and '22 subas for 12 subas (Ibid). There are similar misreadings of Persian words in other articles. For example, in the paper on Shahbaz Khan Kambu Deogarh is read as Deckar (p.55) and Gajra Chauhan as Kajra Chauhan (p. 56). A general tendency noticeable is not to throw a word of acknowledgment for the work done by previous writers, as if it is derogatory to refer to the work of others. The proofs have not been read with care and at many places separate words are joined together with no space between them. These are, however, minor faults, and the Department of History of the Aligarh University deserves recognition for the research work being done by it in Medieval Indian History.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA



'WESTERN EPITOMES OF INDIAN MEDICINE' collected and edited by Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy, Upgraded Department of History of Medicine, Osmania Medical College, Hyderabad, 1966, pp. 115

This is a compilation of twelve extracts from the writings of twelve western scholar physicians on one or other aspects of the history of ancient Indian medicine. All these were written in the 19th century when the increasing contact between India and the western countries facilitated foreign scholars to know things about India. It is interesting to note that these scholar-physicians who did not visit India were able to collect in the last century many relevant data regarding ancient Indian medicine and show to the western world the standard attained by ancient India in the art of healing. Most of the articles by these scholars published in foreign magazines are not as yet accessible to most of Indian scholars and it is in this connection that the compilation under review proves to be extremely useful. Some of their conclusions - especially those regarding chronology - are no longer valid but this does not minimise the value of the articles. Sushruta and Chakraka necessarily often figure in their writings and Ayurveda gets a lion's share of treatment. Here and there one may come across a few mistakes - for instance in the 'Outlines of the History of medicine and the Medical Profession'.

Hoh. Herman writes that the Vaisya caste is a sub-caste of the Brahmins (p. 29) and in India man attains puberty at the age of 25 (p. 35) - but in general the writings show the knowledge of foreign physicians in ancient Indian system of medicine and their interest in the same. Since some of the articles published in this book are translations from European languages which are generally not widely known in this century, this compilation will be of use to those interested in the bibliography on the history of ancient Indian medicine.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

JESUIT LETTERS AND INDIAN HISTORY : 1542-1773. By John Correiah-Afonso, S. J. (Second Edition) Publishers: Oxford University Press, Price Rs. 30/-

Leopold von Ranke, esteemed by some as 'the father of modern scientific history', may be said to have established 'the cult of the document'. He emphasised the historical value of documents like



letters, official and non-official, and observations of foreigners. Since the days of Ranke there has arisen a greater realisation of the importance of social history, and that makes the study of documents like the Jesuit letters particularly useful to the historian.

The author of the book under review examines at some length the value of the Jesuit letters for the historiography of India during the period 1542—1773. The book is the outcome of a Thesis which won the Ph.D. Degree of the Bombay University for the author. The historical value of the letters sent by the Jesuit missionaries in India to their superiors, colleagues, relatives and friends during this period is attempted to be assessed in this book.

The author's aim is four-fold: (1) to assess the value of the Jesuit letters for the historiography of India, (2) to furnish an idea of the nature of their contents and of their territorial range, (3) to indicate the historical works in which use has been made of them, and (4) to point out the present whereabouts of the original Jesuit letters, and the scope for further action with regard to their utilization. It may be said that the author has fulfilled his objectives with a commendable measure of success.

While the author of this book has also incidentally examined the contribution of the Jesuit missionaries to the historiography of America, Africa and Asia as a whole, his principal concern is the assessment of this source in respect of the history of India between 1542 and 1773. For this purpose one may distinguish three types of Jesuit letters: those meant for the superiors of the Order, those meant for the members of the Society in general and those addressed to the public at large. No doubt, the nature and value of the accounts vary with the equipment of the writer, his theme, the opportunities he had for intimate contact with people and yet other allied factors. On the whole, it is undeniable that there are certain merits found in the Jesuit letters as sources of history.

In the first place, even making allowance for occasional lapses, the Jesuit letters are generally characterised by objectivity and reliability. This is specially true of the letters addressed to their superiors; they are notably explicit and realistic. The Jesuit missionaries were generally cultivated persons. It is difficult to agree with the sweeping observation of Sri Ram Sharma on the Jesuit missionaries: "The strange, rather than the normal, scandal rather than sober truth and



the spectacular rather than the ordinary, usually attracted them." It must be remembered that to the man from Europe there was little in India that was ordinary. The Jesuits were on the whole qualified to be acute observers. Even making allowance for the ulterior object they had in view and for certain pre-conceived notions which vitiated their judgement, on the whole, their observations are valuable.

Secondly, the letters which were sent for the members of the Society are notably discreet in style, though they are written with a good deal of freedom. They furnish vivid details regarding the social life and customs of the people.

Thirdly, many missionaries in India sent to Europe most interesting and valuable data regarding the fauna, flora, ethnography, religious customs, traditions and history of the lands where they laboured.

Fourthly, the letters are often helpful in fixing the dates of events where other sources are lacking or are contradictory to each other.

Finally, it is noteworthy that side by side with the Jesuit letters there grew up another class of literature which might be termed as 'allied documents.' These are studies or reports on particular topics such as the life and customs of a particular tribe or the history of some prominent mission or College. Written by competent experts, they have a surpassing value for the historian.

Side by side with these merits, there were certain shortcomings in some documents. Firstly, several Missionaries like most foreign visitors were deceived by external appearances and consequently the pictures depicted by them were not always accurate. Too much reliance on gossip also occasionally vitiated the dependability of their accounts.

Secondly, many of the foreigners failed to appreciate the finer subtleties and noble aspects of the Indian civilisation. Arising out of an incapacity to understand things in India there emerged at times misjudgements and misstatements.

Thirdly, there was the temptation to make hasty generalisations which made the final picture rather inaccurate. Even making allowance for the above-mentioned shortcomings, the accounts furnished by the Jesuits are of great value for the historian. However, it is for the historian to make a judicious use of this valuable source of information.



The author's treatment of the subject is interesting and balanced; but it is rather disperse; for instance, Chapters 2, 7 and 8 could have more closely integrated. Again the criticisms levelled by Shri Ram Sharma should be more directly faced and the counter arguments more systematically marshalled as the author has done with reference to the views of Jadunath Sarkar. (pp. 86-7). The Bibliography provided is no doubt excellent.

Finally the author's original aim, as stated in his Preface must be fulfilled. He wanted to provide a complete and critical account of all the historical writings of the Jesuits pertaining to India. It is to be fervently hoped that he will undertake to do it sometime.

K. K. PILLAY.

"GLIMPSES OF HEALTH AND MEDICINE IN MAURYAN EMPIRE" by Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy, Upgarded Department of History of Medicine, Osmania Medical College, Hyderabad, 1966, p. 93.

Though we hear of the science of medicine in the Vedas and of healing surgeons in the epics it is from the Mauryan era only that a fuller and clearer picture of ancient Indian medicines emerges. The author who has specialised on the history of medicine attempts in this monograph to provide glimpses of the state of medicine and general health under the Mauryas. The book is divided into two sections, the first with fifteen chapters dealing with the account gleaned from the Arthasastras of Kautilya and the second with five chapters dealing with the gleanings from the edicts and historical writings.

Some of the interesting subjects covered include the responsibilities and privileges of the physicians, the state of hospitals, the cultivation and storage of plants of medicinal value, classification of drugs, regimen for the royalty and royal household. Health and welfare of common people, town planning and sanitation forensic medicine, medicolegal aspects of marriage, poisoning and its detection, health and military aid in military camps and campaigns, chemical warfare, remedies to injuries, care and treatment of animals and prescriptions for strange feats like fasting for a month, walking over fire, seeing in pitch darkness etc.

The accounts of foreigners like Megasthens, Arrian and Curtius Rufus on medicines and health as they saw in India are also brought



out. Megasthenes speaks about pharmacy and public health department besides food, drinks and physicians; Arrian mentions forecasting of epidemics, antenatal care, curing of snake-bites while Curtius Rufus refers to engemics. They are interesting sidelights on medicine and diseases in the *Mudrarakshasa* while other literary sources allude to supernatural feats, cause and cure of madness, kusa grass and wounds etc. That Asoka made drugs easily available and that medical aid was provided in Ceylon are evident from the Buddhist sources.

This book which surveys all the above references will be of considerable help to those engaged in the study of the history of medicine in ancient India. A useful bibliography is provided at the end. Similar publications for all the subsequent periods is a necessity which is increasingly felt.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

EXCAVATIONS AT AHAR (TAMBAVATI) by H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo and Z.D: Ansari' published by the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1969; royal quarto pages 245 with 175 illustrative plates: price Rs 75.00, £ 5 or \$ 10.5.

Ahar (Āghāḍ, old Āhāṭapura) is a locality of the city of Udaipur in Rajasthan. The importance of the site was realised and excavation at the place begun by R. C. Agrawala of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan. Arrangements were later made for further excavation of the area jointly by the said Department and the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, under the supervision of Prof. H. D. Sankalia. These excavations were planned with a view to getting information about the life of the Banas people and about links between Central India and Western Asia.

Archaeologists participating in the first season's work, covered by the report under review, include some workers from the Melbourne University, from the M. S. Universtiy of Baroda and from the Birbal Sahni Institute of Lucknow. The report contains the contributions of the three authors as well as of M. S. Mate of the Deccan College P.G.R.I. (Iron Objects), K.T.M. Hegde (Copper Artifacts) and Sm. D. R. Shah (Animal Remains) of the M. S. University, and Vishnu-Mittre of the Birbal Sahni Institute (Remains of Rice and Millet). The volume is a Welcome addition to the literature on Indian archaeology.



C-14 determinations have helped in dating the Ahar culture between *circa* 1900 and 1200 B.C. The excavated objects are believed to suggest that the Aharians came from outside with a knowledge of pottery, house-building and copper-smelting. They built thatched houses with stone-flooring and mud walls, and were non-vegetarian cow-eaters who also used to eat fish, turtle, fowl, buffalo, goat, sheep, deer and pig. Their house-plans and the designs on their pottery are supposed to suggest a possible connection with the Bhils who still live in the area. Certain pottery technique, forms and decoration, particularly the similarity of some Ahar spindle-whorls with those from Anatolia, have been taken to suggest the migration of the Aharians from Western Asia. Stress, however, has elsewhere been put on 'the Bhils' inborn dislike for migration and on the possibility of the Bhils and Minas constituting 'the indigenous population of Mewar'. Less convincing than the said possibilities are the conjectures that the Aharians were one of the earlier Aryan groups or one of the Yādava families mentioned in the Purāṇas. It has, however, been rightly emphasised that all the suggestions are mere speculations, the only definite thing being that the Aharians were one of the many ethnic groups appearing in India about 1800 B.C. On the result of the excavation, Sankalia observes, "The original problem with which we started the excavation thus became more complex though we found additional evidence of a different nature for the likely contacts between India and Western Asia."

We have noticed some misprints, e. g., P.C. Agrawal, for 'R. C. Agrawala' (p. xi, line 6), 'Wewar' for 'Mewar' (p. 4, left column, line 15; 'Mewar' is also spelt 'Mewad') double apostrophe for footnote number '11' (p. 223, right column, line 28), etc.

D. C. SIRCAR.

PRĀCYAVIDYĀ - TARANGINĪ, Golden Jubilee Volume of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture; Edited by D. C. Sircar; University of Calcutta, 1969. Pp. XX-540 and photos. Price. Rs. 60/-

The record of achievements of the Calcutta University in the field of pioneering educational enterprises is so unique that it forms a landmark in the promotion of Indological studies. With its name associated a brilliant array of historic personages like George Thibaut, D. R. Bhandarkar, Jitendranath Banerjee, Abanindranath Tagore, Niharranjan Ray and others who occupied the chair of the Carmichael Professor and Bageswari Professor, two significant posts created,



one for history and another for arts, out of the munificent endowments from Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cassimbazaar and Rani Bageswari. The University was the first to introduce the Post-graduate study for the M. A. Degree in 1918 and it is in commemoration of its Silver Jubilee that this volume is being presented to the reading public. This book is a dedication to the sacred memory of the late Asutosh Mookerjee who was instrumental in introducing the Post-graduate study. The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, a creation of D. P. Ghosh, the Curator, is a very important institution of art and archaeological studies and is a good adjunct to the history section.

The title of the book *Prā yavidyā-Taraṅgiṇī* (meaning, "Waves of Oriental knowledge") is a significant and novel one meant to portray the aims of the Editor, carried out here, to outline the history of the department's activities (Part I), to bring together the topics of varied interests on which contributions have been offered by eminent historians, Indian and Foreign, (Part II) and to present biographical sketches of scholars intimately associated with the Post graduate course, (Part III) along with a list of M. A.s who passed out of the Portals of the University, with their photos, wherever available, added on at the close of the book.

Pages 17 to 28 contain a list of eminent scholars who delivered lectures, under the auspices of the Department, on such topics as Krishna in History and legend; Pauranic and Tantric religion, Early phase; Early Indian land system and of those who took part in Seminars on an Inter-university basis. Of the 16 papers the article by Prof. A. L. Basham of Canberra on Ancient Indian Ideas of Time and History and by Dr. G. M. Bongard-leving of Moscow on Ancient Contacts between India and Central Asia, both foreign authors, deserve special attention. The paper in Kaundinya, His age and Identity by Dr. Upendra Thakur gives a very interesting search-light on a long contested episode in history connected with the exodus of Kaundinya Gothra team on a campaign of colonisation. A useful index is attached at the end. The photos of persons and groups are well reproduced. The book draws a good picture of the fifty years of useful activity of the Post-graduate department of the University and its contribution to the field of historic culture and research. The book is so priced that it can be within reach only of librarians.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.



THE STUDENT REVOLUTION: A GLOBAL ANALYSIS,—edited by Philip G. Altbach, Lalvani Publishing House, Bombay - New Delhi - Calcutta - Madras, pages X and 408. Price Rs. 38.00.

Altbach, currently Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin was in 1968 Fulbright Research Professor in the Department of Sociology, in the University of Bombay. He is the author of *Student Politics in Bombay* (1968) editor of *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India*.

The book under review is intended to provide the Indian reader with an overview of readings on student activism around the world. Most of the chapters in this volume are reprinted, with occasional minor alterations from two sources: Seymour Martin Lipset, editor, *Students Politics* (New York, 1967), and Lipset and Altbach editors *Students in Revolt* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1969.)

The book is divided into four parts: 1. Student Politics in Comparative perspective comprising three chapters of a general character; 2. a) The Indian Context, two chapters entitled as Student Politics and Higher Education in India and (b) The Partisan Student in India; 3. Student politics in developing countries—four chapters on Burma, Indonesia, Modern China, and Latin America; and 4. Six chapters on Advanced countries—the first of these of a general character entitled 'Western European Student Movements Through Changing Times', the rest being devoted respectively to Czechoslovakia, Japan, America, (U. S.) France and Britain. The book concludes with an "Epilogue: The International Student Movement".

A detailed critical review of the varied contents of this excellent cooperative book will need a long essay for which we have no room here. We must content ourselves with giving some representative extracts calculated to give the reader an indication of the topics discussed and the shrewd and penetrating manner in which they have been handled. In India, Studies carried out by the University Grants Commission and various universities "indicate that a substantial portion of the student population is undernourished and that many students have inadequate living accommodation" (20); again, 'The Key to India's university crisis is expansion' (21). 'Student activism as a world phenomenon is certainly here to stay. Universities, even



in the most advanced countries, are not going to be able to solve their problems quickly. The social problems which have stimulated student activism—race relations, changing economic patterns, depersonalization of society—are deep and abiding issues. Societies, regardless of their political orientations, find it difficult to live upto their professed goals. All of these issues (p 24-25) 'The Russian student movement provided an important impetus to revolutionary activity, and students in Burma, India, Korea and other nations have been a leading element in independence movements.' (53). 'In India, for example, academic standards and employment prospects are much better for science and technological students than for those in the liberal arts, and it is true that science students are not often involved in student "indiscipline."' (57) 'Student cultural organizations often provide training in drama, dancing, and other arts to students who go on to become well known in the cultural realm'. (68) 'The Education available in a majority of Latin America's universities does not begin to meet today's needs. The failure is partly on account of the students, with their all-too-human tendency to utilize their organizational strength to oppose upgrading of standards and tightening of requirements. (209); 'Most Professors who earn their living teaching must hold three or more posts to do so. The vast majority of university teachers, however, are not full-time educators, but individuals in private or employed by government or private organizations who offer classes in their spare time'. (ibid.) In the private university of Japan, 'like the students, the professors are, in a sense, the victims of poor financial conditions. They are poorly paid, have inadequate facilities, and suffer from heavy teaching loads. They give their lectures through microphones to a large audience, and there is little opportunity for teacher-student interaction.' (289) 'This consideration of the Japanese student movement indicates that student movements are likely to arise during periods of rapid social and political change'. (309) 'There is no real international student "movement" There are several organizations devoted to education and international co-ordination of student activities. None of these organizations has much loyalty from its members; most are, in fact, confederations of national groups rather than membership organizations.' (375-7)

Altogether an interesting and stimulating book on a topic of much current interest.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.



THE TAI AND THE TAI KINGDOMS (WITH A FULLER TREATMENT OF THE TAI-AHOM KINGDOM IN THE BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY). By P. Gogoi, published by the Gauhati University, 1968 pp. 552, price Rs. 30/-.

The author, a Reader in Political Science at the University of Gauhati, submitted this work as a thesis for the D. Phil. degree at the University of Gauhati and obtained it. The work presents a highly interesting and panoramic view of the rise and growth of the Tai people and their dispersal in different states lying in Indo-China, Thailand, Burma and Assam. The author gives an outline of their political history from the dawn of history and describes how prominent groups of these people went to constitute the Tai or Thai in Thailand and Laos, the shans in North Burma and the Ahoms in Assam. These people, although belonging to the same Mongoloid stock, were constrained, at different epochs, to constitute themselves into separate states in China and S. E. Asia. The story of these people whom the irony of fate placed in different countries has been brought together in a compact well-documented work and Dr. Gogoi deserves thanks for it.

The work traces the story of the Tai people from 2515 B. C. It is not possible either to check up this date from any other independent source or to determine, historically, if the tai-titli can be racially fixed up with the historic Tai people at so early period. Gogoi thinks that it does. In any case, the author has described how these people have lived in central and eastern China from which they were eventually pushed towards the South. Here they held out for long in South-Western part in Yun-nan and part of North-eastern Burma against the advancing Shu Han people. Many of these people left their homeland for safer zones, but others grimly held on and successively organised themselves into the states of Ngai-lao and Nan-Chao. After existence of several centuries, the empire of Nan-Chao was destroyed by Kublai Khan on Jan. 7, 1253.

The influx of the Tai people from China to S. E. Asia had probably started in the 6th century B. C., but it became a flood after the conquest of Western Yun-nan by the Mongol hordes in 1253. Thus ensued the last and the greatest migration of the Tai people; they descended upon the Menam Valley of modern Thailand. The Mao-



Shan group of the Tai people had already came into the Menan and Mekong Valley in the 3rd century A. D. and had succeeded in carving out small principalities in the middle Mekong region and the salween Valley of Eastern Burma. In the 9th century, they had also built up a state with capital at Chieng Sen. The arrival of the huge body of refugee Tais after their debacle at the hands of the Mongol hordes in 1253 violently shook the political structure of Northern Siam. The Mon and Khmer people and others were gradually overcame, till the Tais, firmly established themselves in Siam by the middle of the 13th century. The author has brought down the history of these people down to the middle of the 20th century. In parts of the Mekong Valley and upper Burma, the Mao Shan group of the Tais had already established themselves in the 6th century A. D. Their history and relationship with Burmese kings down the centuries and up to 19th century, when they were brought under the common subjection to the British, have been described.

The author has traced the story of the Tai kingdom of Assam from its foundation in 1228 A. D. It has taken the major part of the work (pp. 251-552). The details furnished are matter-of-fact, detached, well-authenticated and treated with care and ability. It discusses, in details, the story of the relationship of the Ahom kings with the Muslim rulers of Northern India and with others, and have brought down the story down to 1838, when Assam was brought under the British authority. In the last chapter, the author discusses the system of Ahom administration.

The work covers an area of almost continental dimension. The author's labour has also been commensurate with the task. Although it has not been possible for the author to go into depth on several aspects of Tai history—perhaps the general nature of the work precluded this—it nevertheless brings together under one cover major well-documented political facts in a coherent sequence and strings them into an eminently readable work. Since the area served by this work is vast and the evidence is of diverse grades, covering legendary, proto-historic and historic data of different countries in different ages it was highly desirable that the author had devoted a chapter to the study of the material he had utilised. Otherwise, it is an eminently scholarly work.

H. B. SARKAR.



THE SIKHS AND THEIR LITERATURE, a guide to books tracts and periodicals 1149-1919. By N. Gerald Barrier; Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1970. Pages xlv and, 143. Price Rs. 28/-

The years between the fall of the Sikh Kingdom 1849 and the introduction of democratic reforms 1909 form one of the most neglected periods of Sikh history. "This guide introduces the vernacular and English language literature on and by the Sikhs written between 1849 and 1919. It has been designed to facilitate research on a neglected phase of Sikh history and to help scholars to locate items relating to their special interests. An introductory statement on the individuals, organizations and themes involved in the Sikh insurgency is followed by three sections surveying non-serial publications. Each entry contains bibliographical information background on the items, and location if available. A concluding section treats Sikh periodicals. Appended are notes on collections of Sikh printed documents and proscribed works, a select bibliography of biographies, autobiographies and histories relating to the period and two indices (subject title and general.) (iv)

The primary source of non-serial entries is provided by the quarterly catalogues of Punjab publications after the enactment of the Registration of Books Bill in 1867, an act which required publishers to supply the British with three copies of every work printed in India. British reports are also the major sources for the concluding section on periodicals publications.

There are altogether 1240 entries in the main bibliography and as Khushwant Singh says at the end of his brief foreword: "the authors' work is pioneering, painstaking and thorough. He has compiled a most valuable catalogue of source material for those who wish to fill the blank pages of Sikh history."

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

WHO'S WHO OF INDIAN MARTYRS: Volume I. Edited by Dr. P. N. Chopra, published by the Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Government of India, Sastri Bhavan, New Delhi, October 1969, pp. 382, price Rs. 26/- \$ 4, Sh. 30.

British domination over India had provoked intense resistance from the very beginning. India was able to achieve her freedom from



British control owing to the patriotism, acts of courage and sacrifice of her sons and daughters of whom thousands had laid down their lives in "a blazing trail of glory". Several books have been written on the history of freedom movement in India and biographies of some of the important national leaders have also been published during the last three decades. However, there is hardly any authentic work of reference containing biographical data about the patriots who have sacrificed their lives in the country's struggle. It is the duty of free India to perpetuate the memory of these martyrs. The need for compiling a faithful record of their lives and activities has been naturally felt for a long time. The *Who's Who of Indian Martyrs*, Volume I published in October, 1969 to synchronise with the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations is intended to fulfil that long felt need. The main intention of this publication is to recognise the services rendered by patriots, hitherto unnoticed and unsung.

The *Who's Who of Indian Martyrs* was originally intended to cover the period from 1857 to August 1947. But taking into consideration the three distinct aspects in the freedom movement in India, namely (i) the freedom struggle in provinces directly governed by the British, (ii) the popular movements for the establishment of responsible government in the erst-while princely states and (iii) the liberation movements in the French and Portuguese possessions in India, it is intended to bring out the *Who's Who* in three volumes. The Volume under review, the first in the series, contains the life sketches and activities of those patriots who were hanged or killed otherwise after 1857 till 1947. The Second Volume, according to the Chief Editor, will cover all those who sacrificed their lives in the struggle for the liberation of French and Portuguese possessions in India and a large number of those who had attained martyrdom in the struggle for responsible government in the former princely states and the third Volume will deal exclusively with the martyrs during the Great Revolt of 1857.

The Editors of *Freedom Fighters' Who's Who in the States and Union Territories* collected and supplied to the Chief Editor reliable information about the martyrs from their respective States. The Central Intelligence Bureau and the Inspectors General of Police and Prisons in the respective States have helped the Chief Editor in collecting authentic information. The co-operation of the enlightened



public and the relatives of martyrs as well as members of Parliament and State Legislatures was enlisted with profit in this endeavour. The information required for the compilation of the present volume has been tapped from different sources.

Short biographical sketches of about 3500 martyrs from all parts of undivided India have been included in the present volume. Every page of this book of reference is replete with thrilling episodes of revolutionaries. Even though compiled in the pattern of a *Who is Who*, the biographical data of the martyrs reveal their political objective, method of operation, patriotism and readiness to make sacrifices. The heroic work of the revolutionaries has been described in simple language and the book can be read from cover to cover with absorbing interest.

The present volume is a good book of reference as far as the life and career of the Indian martyrs are concerned. The Chief Editor, Dr. P. N. Chopra and the two Zonal Editors Sri. P. C. Roy and Sri. Vijay B. Sinha have done a good job in brining out this volume. The Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Government of India are to be congratulated for having undertaken such an important scheme.

The printing and get up of the book are good and the photographs published are clear.

M.

ETHNOLOGY OF ANCIENT BHĀRATA by Ram Chandra Jain, Chowkhamba Publication, Varanasi, 1970. pp. xxxii + 320. Price Rs. 30/-.

This work by Sri Ram Chandra Jain, the Director of the Institute of Bhāratalogical Research at Ganganagar in Rajasthan state, is an attempt at a reexamination of the ethnology of ancient India 'from the dialectical, chronological and historical perspective' and with the aids of archaeology, anthropology and other sciences. The main conclusion is that there has been an ethnological coalescence in ancient India of the foreign intruding Āryanism and the original indigenous pre-Āryanism which latter the author designates as 'Śramaṇism'. The foreigners are the Brahmāryans and the original inhabitants the Bhāratīyans. This coalescence took place about 1000 B. C. The Brahmāryans were materialists and the Bhāratīyans spiritualists. The R̥gveda is the history of the two mutually opposed



ethnic groups, the whiteskinned Āryans who were village people, tribal in organisation and materialistic in outlook, devoid of art and architecture and destitute of wealth and riches and the darkskinned Bhāratīyans who were city people republican in organisation and spiritualistic in outlook, full of wealth and riches and perfect in art and architecture. The author also states that the culture and civilisation we associate with the pre-Āryan Dravidians really belong to the post-Āryan Dravidians. The work concludes with the statement that 'the Austric people are the true Indians to whom the Āryans and the Dravidians owe an explanation at the bar of history for the destruction of their great spiritual culture and civilization.'

The above thesis is worked up in the course of ten chapters. In the first are given seven 'tests' adopted in analysing the nature of the races and their component tribes. The second chapter deals with the Ikṣvāku race and the Ikṣvākus are taken as Proto-Australoids. The third chapter is devoted to the *Ahi* subrace of the Ikṣvākus and deals with Vṛātyas, Rākṣasas, Paṇis, Dāsas and Dasyus and this subrace is taken to have migrated from the Mediterranean about 2800 B. C. The fourth gives an account of the Pañcajātāḥ, the five people Purus, Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus and Druhyus all of whom are taken as non-Aryan and pre-Aryan against the common view that they are of Aryan blood. They were Austric people speaking the Austric language. The next two chapters deal with the Ikṣvāku-Ahis of Western Bhārata and Ikṣvākus of the East respectively. The former comprises the Kuśikas and Ānavas and the latter the Pāñcālas. The seventh chapter is devoted to the Brahma ethnology and treats of the Devas, Asuras, Aṅgirasas, Atharvaṇas and Vasiṣṭhas. Having thus dealt with the Bhāratīyans and the Brahmāryans separately, the author in the next chapter deals with two earliest mixed tribes the Bhṛigus and the Kurus. The origin of Varṇic ethnology is the subject of the ninth chapter. Here incidentally we get the interesting statement that Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Rudra and others, who were all Aryan leaders according to the author, were ceremoniously sputniked to heaven and the vestiges of their human existence were sought to be obliterated. This novel theory is given the name 'Homodeithesism'. We also get the statement that the Vaiśyas and Sūdras originally constituted a single class and the Vaiśas separated themselves in the middle of the 7th century B. C., and that there was a Sūdra section within the Brahman society as distinct from the other Sūdras. Ambadkar's views accepting the Aryan origin of the



Sūdras are also examined and arguments advanced against them. The last chapter deals with the Dravidas. It is observed therein that in the early part of the third millenium B. C., a large mass of people from the upper parts of the Mediterranean came by the land route to Western Bhārata and they were welcomed and assimilated by the proto-Australoid population of the region, and later on in the first millenium B. C. another wave of migration from the same place came along lower Sindh and Gujerat to Deccan and these intruders superimposed their culture on the indigenous population and developed a script and language of their own. These latter are the people whom we now call Dravidians.

The work bespeaks a lot of study and thought, but often there is more of assertion than of argument. There are not answers always to how and why to the extent one would desire in a work of this kind. For instance, it is stated: "The Śramanised Brahma becomes Brahmana. The adoption of the word 'N' to form the compound with the word Brahma denotes the victory of asceticism or spiritualism [spirituality?] on the materialistic Brahmic way. The follower of the Brahmana way is a Brāhmana" (p. 7) and again "The Brahman united with the word 'N' and became Brāhmana. 'N' means knowledge. Knowledges is another name for Ātman of spirit" (p. 228). When was the addition of 'N' made? What is the earliest time when we get 'N' in the sense given? Could this have occurred at the time author postulates for the coalescence of the Brahmāryans and the Bhāratīyans? Such questions are neither raised nor answered. Monier Williams' Dictionary is cited as the authority for the meaning given to 'N' but Monier Williams himself states this to be found only in lexicons and does not give any instance of usage. Similarly the statement 'Śiśnadevāḥ' means only 'nude' gods' (p. 66) is not substantiated. The author finds fault with Pusalkar's explanation that 'pitṛdeva' mean's a person to whom the father is like a god', which by the bye is the only meaning which we can logically give to that expression, and states that it means 'a person who reverts his Pitṛdeva'. Then again, it is stated that the word 'anāsa' occurring with 'Mṛdhravācaḥ' in the R̥gveda shows that the language of the Mṛdhravācaḥ' people had very little use of nasal sounds as in Prākṛts, and the word has no reference to nose. Is it not likely that 'anāsa' which occurs as a viśeṣṇa to 'Mṛdhravācaḥ' more naturally, means 'noseless,, that is



with snub nose' as is usually explained? Are the 'Prākṛts sparse in nasal sounds? Do we not find an abundance of them in these languages?

Some books which could have been consulted with advantage, do not seem to have been used. Such for instance, are '*India in the Kalpasūtras*' by Ram Gopal, '*The Sūdras in Ancient India*' by R. S. Sharma, '*The Vṛātyas in Ancient India*' by Radhakrishna Chowdhury and '*The Culture and Civilisation of ancient India in historical outline*' by D. D. Kosambi.

Nevertheless, the work, on the whole, deserves careful study by all those interested in Indian culture in general, and ethnology in particular, although it may not be possible to agree with the conclusions of the author.

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER.





## Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Poona.
2. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona.
3. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, Bombay.
4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
6. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
7. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
8. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
9. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
10. *Folklore*, Calcutta.
11. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
12. *Indian Review*, Madars.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *Indica*, Bombay.
15. *Indo Asian Culture*, New Delhi.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
19. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
20. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
21. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
22. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
23. *Political Scientist*, Ranchi.
24. *Studies in Islam*, New Delhi.
25. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
26. *University of Ceylon Review*.
27. *Visveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur.

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